



Stoneware Craft of Patharkatti Village

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Craft Survey Report on
STONEWARE CRAFT
of
Patharkatti Village
(District Gaya)

Field Investigation and First Draft by
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FOREWORD

One of the first steps to be taken in the First Five-Year Plan was the establishment of six Boards for the promotion of handicrafts, village and small industries : (1) The Khadi and Village Industries Board ; (2) The All-India Handicrafts Board; (3) The All-India Handloom Board; (4) The Central Silk Board; (5) The Coir Board; and (6) The Small Industries Board.

The rapid expansion of the activities of these Boards which concentrated not only on production and techniques, but also on organisation, extension, credit, marketing, and export, consolidated and enlarged the position that the household industries sector had so long enjoyed in the nation's economic life. It was this fact that forced itself upon the preparations for the 1961 Census and demanded that household industry should be separately investigated for a proper accounting of the nation's man power, resources and its specific contribution to the national income. The 1961 Census, therefore, asked a special series of questions on household industry, input of family and hired labour, and the periods over which household industry is conducted. It was felt, however, that an enumeration of the total number of establishments and their industrial classification would be incomplete without a proper description of what they produce and how they produce. It was important to make an assessment of the limits of rigidity within which traditional skill operates. This could be obtained by studying the caste, occupational, social and economic stratifications, the limitations of credit and marketing facilities, the dominance of custom over contract, the persistence of traditional tools and design forms, the physical limitations of transport, communication and mobility, the inability to adopt new lines or adapt to changing circumstances. It was important also to make an assessment of the limits of flexibility that traditional skill is capable of, because the transformation of traditional skills to modern skills is easier said than done and a thorough study may well reveal that it is perhaps cheaper from the social point of view to develop industrial skills from scratch than to try to graft traditional skill on alien soil. A rather tragic case of failure to make what would on the face of it seem a minor adjustment cast its heavy shadow on the nation when it was discovered that goldsmiths used to working on 22-carat gold all their lives felt sadly helpless when asked to work on 14-carat, so narrow and unadaptable were the limits of their skill and proficiency and so rudimentary the tools and equipment with which they and their forefathers had worked. This fiscal accident revealed that tools are even more important than skills.

An early opportunity was therefore taken in February, 1960 to suggest to State Census Superintendents, that the Census provided a unique opportunity for conducting and documenting a survey of this kind. As such a survey was quite outside the usual terms of reference of Census work it was thought prudent cautiously to feel one's way with the thin end of the wedge of what would, it was hoped, prove to be an exciting pursuit. It was, therefore, considered the wiser course to wait until the State Census Offices felt so interested that they would no longer take the inquiry as an imposition but rather want to do it on their own and ask for the necessary staff and equipment. This office, too, in its turn, could make use of the interval to organise and elaborate the design of inquiry in order to feed the appetite that work in progress would serve to whet. Because it was a labour of love, sought to be unobtrusively thrust on one's colleagues and because the inquiry itself was so vast that normally it would demand in any country as big a set-up, if separately established, as the Census organisation itself and that over a much longer period, and because it was almost a pioneer venture, nothing like it having been undertaken since the 1880's it was decided to move towards a build-up by stages, to let the inquiry unfold itself only as fast as my colleagues chose to ask for more.

Thus, in the first circular of 18th February 1960, it was suggested that the inquiry might be conducted through the agency of the Development Department, the State Director of Industries, the Director of Tribal Welfare, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and other organisations concerned with the promotion of household industry. A draft questionnaire containing 30 questions in three parts was recommended for canvassing. It was suggested that information

on this questionnaire, village by village and area by area, might either be obtained through the regular departmental channels of the State Government, or through the newly set up Census organisation, or through the hierarchy of the newly-created Panchayats. Stress was laid on the need of photographic documentation and illustration of designs, shapes and forms not only by photographs but with the help of line drawings or sketches together with a full description of the materials used.

Almost the whole of 1960 and the first half of 1961 were spent in organising and taking the census count, although several States even during this period had not allowed the grass to grow under their feet but made exploratory studies and decided in their minds how the inquiry should be organised. A series of regional conferences held in Trivandrum, Darjeeling and Srinagar in May and June, 1961 revealed much enthusiasm among State Superintendents to proceed with the survey, but the need of separate staff and equipment was felt at the same time as the realisation dawned that this was much too serious an inquiry to be treated casually and left to be achieved through the usual administrative channels and State Census Superintendents, proceeded to augment their staff with qualified research and investigating officers, technical persons, photographers, artists, draughtsmen and other trained personnel.

This was followed by rapid progress in co-ordination between the Central and State Census offices in the matter of exchange and processing of information, documentation and investigation, of assisting each other with trained investigators and in editing and finalising drafts, layouts, presentations.

Mention has been made of a questionnaire in three parts and thirty questions. The idea was to make a beginning with empirical, analytical studies based on a structured questionnaire which would replace general descriptive accounts that had obtained so far. The primary aim was to obtain a picture as much of the artisan himself as of his craft, to obtain a perspective of the artisan and his craft in his social and economic setting, the extent to which tradition bound him and the winds of change ruffled him, the extent of his mobility and immobility, the conditions of market, credit, new contacts and designs in which he operated, the frame of new as well as traditional producer-customer relationships in which he still worked, and how far he was ready to pierce his own caste-tribe socio-economic cocoon and make a break through to new opportunities promised by the Five-Year Plans. The aim was to hold up the mirror to hereditary skills struggling with the dialectics of tradition and change.

Thus the first part of the questionnaire, purporting to be a village schedule, sought to take account of the size and population of the village, its remoteness from or proximity to centres of trade and commerce, in short, the degree of isolation in which the artisan worked, and the relative strengths of various communities in the village which would afford clues to social interdependence and the prevalence of the *jajmani* system. The second part was devoted to artisan communities in the village: the several castes of artisans, the number of families in each, the total number of workers, males and females, the extent of co-operative activity among them, the extent of dependence upon employers and of wage or contract labour. There were questions on the raw materials used, the means of their procurement, the possible extent of dependence on others for raw materials, the extent of the material that artisans can handle within the limits of their skill. There were other questions on the exchange and flow of designs, the use of colours, the ancientness of the craft and legends associated, the colonization of the craftsman, on patrons and customers and on social and economic contact with the world inside and outside the village. There were specific questions on the workshop itself and particularly the tools and the source of supply of these tools, because it was felt that tools decide everything and are the surest index of inertness or flexibility. Separate blocks of questions were designed to bring out the ramifications of artisan castes throughout the country and the ways they sustained themselves, the type of clientele they catered for, the extent to which they operated on money or barter or service, how specialized their craft was, how wide the market, how dependent they were on their socially preordained clientele and how restricted the latter was by the seemingly unalterable laws of social custom; the extent to which they could operate in the open market, the range of their wares and the sizes to which these were ordinarily restricted either by the limits of their own skill or the length of their customers' pursestrings.

Inquiries were to be made about the operation of middlemen and of co-operative societies, the people who gave new designs and demanded new products. Finally the several stages of production of the articles themselves were to be fully described including the final and finishing stage and a list of very skilled craftsmen of each community was to be furnished. The third part was devoted specially to tribal communities and designed to find out how self-sufficient or dependent they were on the production and supply of manufactured goods, the extent to which they produced themselves or depended on others, their contacts with other communities and the specific forms of production and commerce through which these contacts were maintained.

Particular emphasis was laid on the need of obtaining as full an account as possible of unique regional design differentiations as they reflect not only the very culture patterns of the country but the persistent inventive faculties of the craftsmen. The importance was emphasised of giving full attention to articles of domestic use as it is in their shapes, designs and forms that the culture patterns and traditional skills persist most tenaciously.

Simultaneously with the investigation of specific crafts, State Superintendents proceeded to compile a comprehensive list of all types of handicrafts obtaining in their State. As for the specific crafts to be investigated several tables were devised from the structured questionnaire in order to guide investigators toward pointed observation and analysis, to enable them to write, not just general descriptions but with their eye on the object and on facts.

Investigations conducted between September, 1961 and May, 1962, including a study group of all States and the Social Studies Division in December, 1961 at Delhi, stimulated many of the States into going in for a much enlarged schedule. The revised village schedule itself, the counterpart of the first part of the February, 1960 schedule, contained 19 large sections containing elaborate and probing questions. The Family Schedule for practising artisan families similarly contained 19 main questions each subdivided into many questions. The Family Schedule for non-practising artisan families contained 21 questions. There were schedules for the study of co-operative societies, of production-cum-training centres, and of consumer's preference. This enlarged schedule of investigation, in the formulation of which the States themselves actively assisted, was greatly welcomed. The surveys that will appear in this series will therefore, consist of two main types: (a) those based on the original short schedule and (b) those based on the much enlarged schedule. In some cases Census Superintendents felt enthused enough to scrap the work based on the original short schedule and do it over again on the enlarged schedule. In the meantime much experience was gained on the analysis of facts and figures to clothe each observation with plenty of authentic information so that the reader could make his own judgement instead of being expected to see all the time through another pair of eyes.

This programme of survey of handicrafts and household industries has been fortified by several ancillary surveys, each one of which would deserve major attention. Along with the survey a compilation has been made of all handicraft centres in each State and an inventory prepared of skilled craftsmen. Photographic and other documentation has been built up to constitute what may now be regarded as the most considerable repository in the country. Elaborate and accurate maps of craft centres in taluks, tehsils and districts are either ready or under preparation. A full census of all fairs and festivals, weekly hats and markets, through out India, has been taken and is being published for the first time. Andhra Pradesh has embarked upon a project of chronicling and social and religious antiquity and uniqueness of every fair and festival. A separate volume will be devoted to each district which promises to be of the utmost value to sociologist and orientalists. A full and complete inventory, replete with sketches and measurements of every object, has been prepared of exhibits in museums of tribal crafts in India. There has been a fairly satisfactory survey of houses and buildings, indigenous architectural designs and use of local building material of the whole country. All this has been entirely a labour of love, patiently organised and executed under great strain and in disregard of health and comfort, for which I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and grateful thanks to my colleagues.

NEW DELHI :
July 30, 1964

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India

P R E F A C E

This is the first of a series of reports on selected handicrafts of the State. It covers the manufacture of various stoneware articles in Patharkatti village of Gaya district. This is the only place in the State where the stoneware craft is developed to the extent of the products having an all-India market.

The field investigation was done by Shri Saileshwar Prasad, then Senior Technical Assistant in the Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi. The Family Schedule used for the study is given in the Annexure to the Report. Shri Prasad also prepared the first draft. I am grateful to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty (Social Studies and Handicrafts), Office of the Registrar General, India, for having spared the services of Shri Prasad for conducting the first survey in the present series.

The first draft was subsequently revised by Shri R. N. Misra, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations.

I am grateful to Shri Shyamlanand for most of the photographs appearing in this volume.

Period of field survey : April, 1965

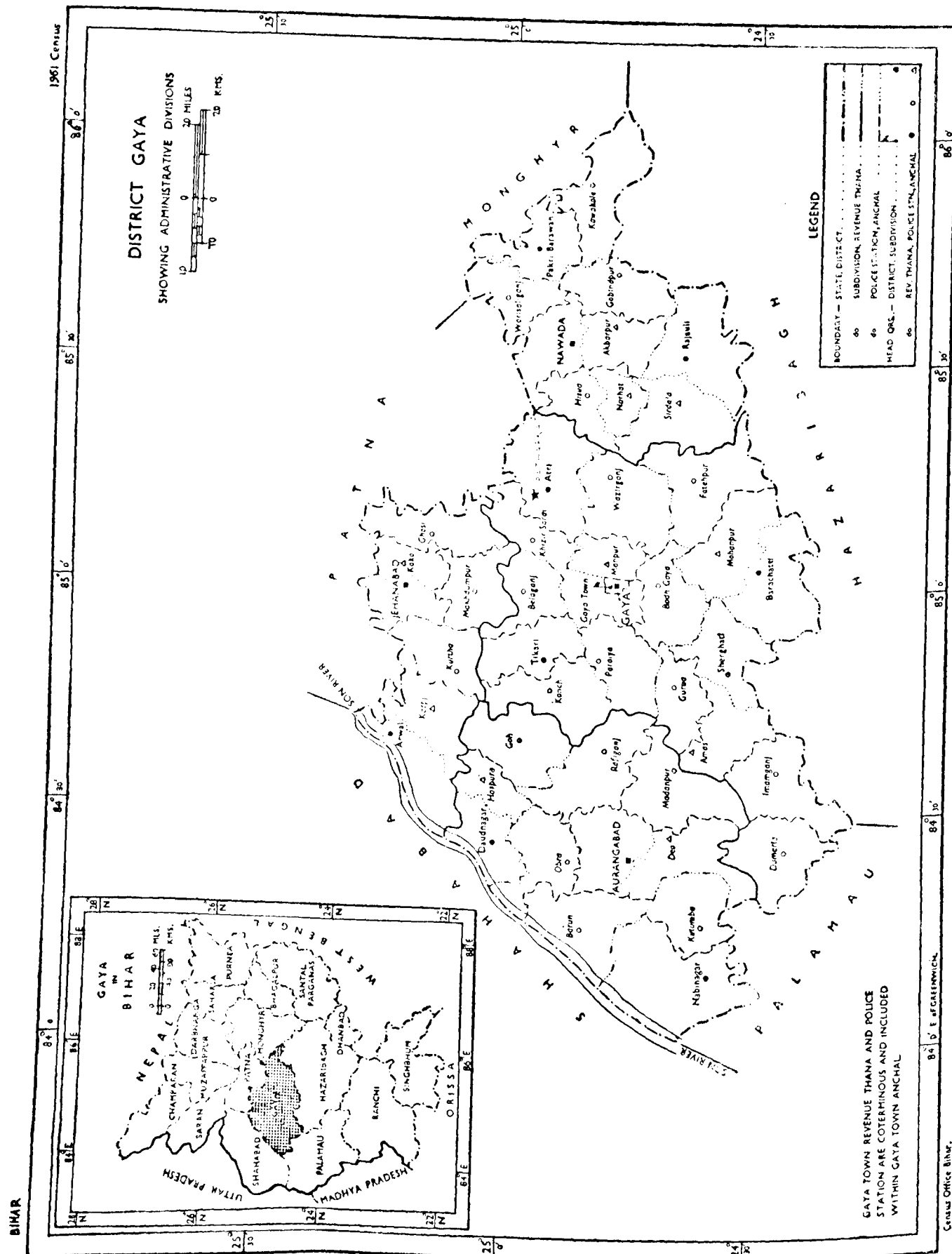
Photographs : Shri Shyamlanand

PATNA :

March 11, 1968

S. D. PRASAD

Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

General

Magnificent monuments in stone were executed in Bihar as far back as in the first century B.C., and even earlier. Exquisite specimens of both indigenous and official or court art are available from the Mauryan period. But when the Maharashtrian Princess Ahalya Bai sought to renovate the sacred Vishnupad Hindu temple at Gaya in the eighteenth century A.D. skilled artisans were not available locally and craftsmen had to be brought from as far away as Rajasthan. Some of these craftsmen stayed back and settled near the stone quarries about 20 miles north-east of Gaya city. They struggled to keep their industry alive for almost two centuries, manufacturing mostly utilitarian stoneware articles for their rural clientele. But the economic fluctuations in the nineteen forties almost drove them back to their original homes. However, substantial assistance from a benign administration put them on their feet once again. Now they produce fine stone images with a countrywide market. This monograph depicts the story of the stoneware manufacturers of Patharkatti village.

Location

In the northern border of Gaya district lies a hillock, known as Patharkatti, from which stone suitable for carving by hand is quarried. The hillock lies in the revenue *mauza* Katari (thana no. 180) in Atri anchal of Gaya district. The revenue *mauza* contains three hamlets—the original Katari, the more recent Patharkatti (the name being derived from the hillock), and the isolated settlement of Jharha. The village is popularly known as Katari-Patharkatti.

Towards the east of Patharkatti lie villages Deay and Khukhari. Noyamatpur is situated to the south and Kosaila to the west. On the north lies village Bihta in Islampur anchal of Patna district. The river Paimar flows in a north-easterly direction and passes near the fringe of Khukhari village about two and a half miles south-east of Patharkatti. The Block headquarters at Atri is situated to the south of the river which has to be crossed to reach Atri from Patharkatti.

The name Patharkatti (*pathar*=stone; *katti*=cutting), given both to the hillock and the hamlet, is functional and indicates its association with the stoneware industry.

Katari seems to have been derived from the word *kattar* which means conservative or resolute. It was stated that during the movement of 1857, the inhabitants of the village waged war with the Muslims of Noyamatpur and other adjoining areas. Their valour and steadfastness won them the tribute of *kattar* whence the village came to be known as Katari.

Patharkatti lies on the Gaya-Islampur *katcha* road about 20 miles north-east of Gaya. There is a 14-mile *pucca* road from Gaya to Khizir-sarai from where Taunsa (on the Gaya-Islampur road) is only 4 miles and Patharkatti another 5 miles north. Patharkatti is connected to the Anchal and Community Development Block headquarters at Atri by the *katcha* road *via* Taunsa from which it is about 2 miles east or a total of 7 miles from Patharkatti. Since the *katcha* road is difficult to negotiate during the rains, Patharkatti remains virtually cut off in this season from Khizir-sarai and Gaya on the one hand and Atri on the other. The journey has to be undertaken on foot in knee-deep, and at places even thigh-deep, muddy water.

In regard to rail communications, the nearest railway station is Islampur, situated at a distance of 11 miles to the north in Patna district. Islampur is a terminus station on the Fatwah-Islampur branch line of the Eastern Railway. However, since the residents of Patharkatti have strong social and economic ties with Gaya city, the rail-head in that city is mostly utilised for travel. Gaya Junction Railway Station lies on the Grand Chord section of the Eastern Railway with a branch line going to Patna.

The association of the stoneware craftsmen of Patharkatti with Gaya city is important enough to deserve more than a passing reference even in the introductory chapter. It has been observed that the craftsmen of Patharkatti are the descendants of the immigrant craftsmen from Rajasthan who renovated the Vishnupad temple. Not all of the immigrant families, however, came to Patharkatti. Descendants of those who remained in Gaya city are related to the Patharkatti craftsmen; and secondly, they are also mostly engaged in the stoneware industry either as manufacturers or sales workers. Thirdly, the Marketing Co-operative Society of the craftsmen is located at Gaya. And finally, as an important pilgrim centre and the administrative headquarters of

the district, Gaya provides the main marketing outlet for the stoneware articles produced at Patharkatti. The association of the villagers with Gaya city is strong and abiding, and has persistently grown in the past 170 years or so during which the craftsmen have been living in the district. There are regular bus services from Khizirsarai to Gaya.

Topography and physical environment

The settlements of Patharkatti are situated on plain land at the foot of the hill known as Patharkatti *Pahar*. The lands in the plain are comprised of *keval* soil suitable for the cultivation of paddy and *rabi* crops. But the monsoon rains are still the only source of water for agriculture. No other facility for irrigation exists. Hence, cash crops like sugarcane are not grown in any appreciable extent. The Koeris of the village, however, grow vegetables such as potato, tomato, brinjal, cauliflower, cabbage, onion, etc. The village has a number of *Sahjan* trees, the edible flowers and fruit of which, besides being consumed by the villagers, are also marketed. A bi-weekly market is held in the nearby village of Bahorama on every Wednesday and Saturday caters to the usual needs of the villagers. It was reported that prior to 1947, a large market used to be held in Patharkatti itself in which not only articles of daily consumption (such as grains, vegetables and oils) but even cattle were sold. But after the Hindu-Muslim riots in 1948 in the wake of independence, the market at Patharkatti ceased to function as many of the Muslim traders left the area. The market at Bahorama, about one and a half mile south-east of Patharkatti, began to function in 1952.

Settlement pattern

Village Katari-Patharkatti can be divided into three main divisions, comprising the three hamlets. The oldest village settlement is at Katari. Patharkatti constitutes a more recent settlement, and finally there is the isolated settlement at Jharha. The settlements at Patharkatti are situated on the road running from Taunsa to Sarvahda, while those at Katari are about half a mile to the north of Patharkatti. Jharha is situated to the south-west of Patharkatti village on the other side of Patharkatti *Pahar*. While the houses in Katari hamlet are congested, the settlement pattern in Patharkatti and Jharha is rather open.

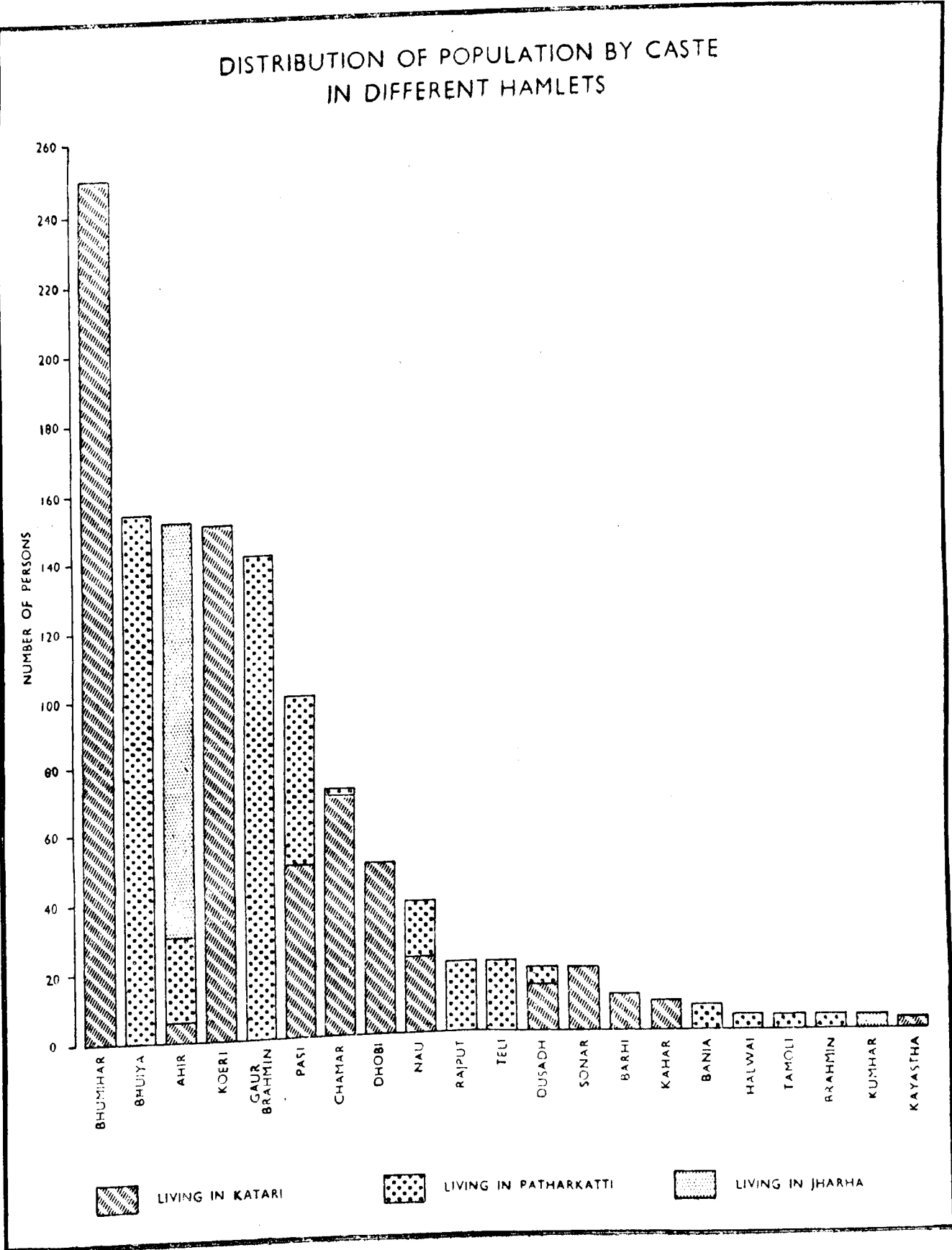
Katari-Patharkatti is a multi-ethnic village with as many as 21 different castes residing in

it. Table I gives the castewise distribution of the village population by hamlet:

Name of the caste	Population in			Total
	Katari	Patharkatti	Jharha	
1	2	3	4	5
1. Bhumihar	250	..	..	250
2. Bhuiya	..	154	..	154
3. Ahir	6	24	121	151
4. Koeri	150	..	..	150
5. Gaur Brahmin	..	141	..	141
6. Pasi	50	50	..	100
7. Chamar	70	2	..	72
8. Dhobi	50	..	..	50
9. Nau	22	16	..	38
10. Rajput	..	20	..	20
11. Teli	..	20	..	20
12. Dusadh	13	5	..	18
13. Sonar	18	..	..	18
14. Barhi	10	..	..	10
15. Kahar	8	..	..	8
16. Bania	..	7	..	7
17. Halwai	..	4	..	4
18. Tamoli	..	4	..	4
19. Brahmin	..	4	..	4
20. Kumhar	..	..	4	4
21. Kayastha	3	..	..	3
Total	650	451	125	1,226

It is seen that Katari is the most populous hamlet comprising 53 per cent of the village population. Patharkatti contains a little over one-third of the population (36.8 per cent), while Jharha is the smallest with only 10.2 per cent of the total population of the village.

The Bhumihars are the most numerous community in the village but they are confined entirely to one hamlet, Katari. Besides, members of the following castes are also found only in Katari hamlet: Koeri, Dhobi, Sonar, Barhi, Kahar and Kayastha. Thus, 7 out of



the 21 castes in the village are residents of Katari only.

Similarly, 8 castes are found exclusively in Patharkatti. They are, in order of population, Bhuiya, Gaur Brahmin, Rajput, Toli, Bania, Halwai, Tamoli and Brahmin. This hamlet contains all the Gaur Brahmin families who are artisans in stoneware. In addition to the 8 castes noted above, members of the Ahir, Chamar, Nau, Dusadh and Pasi castes are also found in Patharkatti.

Jharha, the least populous hamlet, contains mostly Ahirs (121 persons) and some Kumhars (4 persons).

In the village as a whole the Gaur Brahmins occupy the fifth position in order of population but in Patharkatti hamlet they are second only to the Bhuiyas. It is pertinent to observe that although Patharkatti contains a predominant Bhuiya population, their houses are situated in clusters separate and distinct from those of the Gaur Brahmins.

In the social hierarchy, as prevalent in the locality, the Gaur Brahmins along with the other Brahmins (who are priests and servants of the village temple) occupy the highest position. They are followed by the Bhumihars, the Rajputs and the Kayasthas who rank as equals *inter se*. In the next slab of social hierarchy rank the Sonars, the Kahars, the Nau, the Koeris, the Barhis, the Ahirs, the Telis, the Halwais, the Tamolis and the Banias. The scheduled castes in the village occupy the lowest rung of the social ladder. They are represented in the village by the Bhuiya, Dhobi, Chamar, Dusadh and Pasi castes who together comprise almost a third (32.13 per cent) of the total village population.

The Gaur Brahmins are respected by all the other communities and are given feasts on the occasion of birth, marriage and death among the upper caste Hindus. They are strictly vegetarian while the other castes in the village are all non-vegetarian. The Gaur Brahmins do not accept *katcha* meals (that is, grains cooked in water as distinct from fried food) at the house of members of any other caste.

Settlement history

According to the villagers, the area was inhabited by Muslims about 500 years ago. This belief arises from certain local observations. Thus, it has been found that old graves

exist all round the village. Human bones have been discovered at the time of digging wells. In a specific instance, when the Basic School building was being constructed and its foundation was being laid, various articles like tiles, broken earthen utensils and some precious stones were also found indicating that at some remote point of time the area was inhabited by a people who used these articles. Near the *khudun* (quarry) of Dabel and Parajit there are some remains which indicate the existence of a *Masjid* (mosque) and *Dargah* (grave) in the past.

According to the Gaur Brahmins of the village, the quarries in Patharkatti *Pahar* had been worked even before their ancestors came to the place from Jaipur and they had only to rework the then existing quarries. This seems to indicate that even before the eighteenth century, people known as *sang-tarash* (stone-cutters) lived in the village. The term *sang-tarash* continues to be prevalent even now.

The village was under the Maharaja of Tekari when the Gaur Brahmins came to settle in it. However, many other villages in the region were under Muslim zamindars. Muslim influence in the locality is indicated by the fact that there are a number of villages in the neighbourhood of Patharkatti with distinctly Muslim names, e.g., Noyamatpur, Khizirsarai, and Islampur.

According to historical and archaeological evidence, the art of sculpture was widely practised in the area during the Pala period (8th-9th centuries A.D.). It is quite possible that the *khuduns* of Patharkatti were worked even in those remote times. The earlier craftsmen suffered a set-back during the Muslim rule when the craft practically died out until its revival by Ahalya Bai.

Of the castes residing in the village at present, the Gaur Brahmins settled at the time of the construction of the Vishnupad temple at Gaya in the end of the 18th century. The Bhumihar, Kceri, Rajput, Ahir, Nau and Kayastha castes settled more or less at the same time. The Pasi, Dusadh, Sonar, Chamar and Kahar castes were later settlers.

The Bhumihars have come from village Bajra in Nawada subdivision of Gaya district while the Koeris have come from village Kenar. These two castes are among the oldest to have settled in the village. The Koeris stated that they immigrated to this village because they

were oppressed by the Muslims in their original village. They came along with the Bhumihars and some other castes.

The Pasis of Patharkatti reported having come to the village only about 20 years ago from the nearby village of Taunsa. The Bhuiyas settled about fifty years earlier when one family came. The number of Bhuiyas has increased greatly in the last twenty years because all the married daughters among them have also begun to live with their parents. The Halwai family is living in the village for the last three generations, having come from village Teleharganj in Ghosi police station. The Banias came from Banwariganj near Neyamatpur. The Telis originally lived at village Ratna from where they migrated to Banwariganj and, finally, to Patharkatti where they have a shop. The Dusadhs have come from village Deay (near Bahorma *bazar*) about twenty years earlier. The Tamolis also came recently from village Kochara in Islampur police station of Patna district.

Brief history of development of the stoneware craft

The association of stone with the progress of human civilization as typified by the Stone Age in ancient times hardly needs any reiteration. It was, however, only in the Mauryan era in India that magnificent monuments came to be executed in stone. The monolithic pillars (*shail stambha*) consisting of tall shafts crowned by capitals supporting some animal figures came into vogue in that period. The Yaksha statue found at Patna (now preserved in the Calcutta Museum) are fine specimens of indigenous Mauryan art. These and other sculptures are mostly made of buff coloured sandstone of the Chunar quarries.

The progress of sculpture synchronised with the emergence of image worship in the *Chaityas* which soon became very popular. Various stone images found at Nalanda and Bodh Gaya undoubtedly take the history of stone-craft in Bihar to the beginning of the Christian era. Apparently, there is no connection between the evidence of image worship in the Indus Valley Civilization and the development of stone-craft in Eastern India.

According to the village craftsmen, the stone used in the construction of the Bodh Gaya temple as also in the images in that temple and in Nalanda is very similar to the kind of stone found in Patharkatti. It is, therefore, contended by them that the artisans of this locality must have contributed largely to the

erection of the fine temples and the beautiful images in the remote past. In any case, so far as they are aware, stone-craft had disappeared from the locality towards the beginning of the 18th century when their ancestors had to be inducted from Rajasthan.

Right from the time of their settlement, the Gaur Brahmins of Patharkatti catered to the demands of the local populace and outside pilgrims to Gaya for utilitarian articles like stone utensils (e.g., plates, bowls, tumblers, cups and dishes). They also manufactured ritual objects such as images of the five deities comprising the *Pancha Devatas*. It was only after the Second World War that some diversification took place in the pattern of their produce. This resulted from a demand for *kharals* and *kundis*, both from *Ayurvedic* and medical institutions as well as from the general public. However, the period also coincided with the gradual cessation of the manufacture of stone utensils.

In 1947-48 there was a big slump in the market for stonewares. The prices offered by the stockists and salesmen at Gaya, also members of the Gaur Brahmin caste, were so low that even the cost of production could hardly be met. Moreover, the scope for marketing their articles was virtually restricted to products like *kharal*, *kundi* and Mahadeo. Naturally, the condition of the craftsmen deteriorated considerably in 1948 and a few persons even left for their original homes near Jaipur, as they saw little scope for sustenance in the locality. At one stage, the artisans of Patharkatti were so badly off that they had to request the district authorities at Gaya for monetary help at least to enable them to return to Jaipur. The district authorities were, however, sympathetic and assured them of requisite aid in the rehabilitation of their industry. They even sanctioned the grant of 32 maunds of wheat for meeting their immediate requirements.

Shri J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., the then District Officer of Gaya, was attracted by the possibilities of this craft and saw the need for rehabilitating it. He contacted Shri Upendra Maharathi, a well-known artist and now Deputy Director of Industries (Handicraft), Government of Bihar, for technical advice and help. The District Officer and Shri Maharathi camped in Patharkatti village, studied the problems, and then drew up a scheme for easy availability of the stone, and various kinds of help in designing and marketing the products.

A co-operative society of the stone-craftsmen was formed in the year 1952. It began to function effectively from 1954. Christened as the Pashan Kalakar Sahayog Samiti, the co-operative society made rapid progress and earned good profits during the first seven years of its existence. It went a long way towards improving the economic condition of the Patharkatti craftsmen. In the meanwhile, the Department of Industries, Government of Bihar, also showed some initiative and started a tuitional class in stoneware at Patharkatti, with Sri E. Duncan as the Instructor. Guided by the Institute of Industrial Designs, Bihar, which provided new designs, the art of image-making was developed among the Patharkatti craftsmen by the tuitional class to include the manufacture of images of Buddha, Lakshmi, Surya, Saraswati and Shiva. Among other kinds of images introduced were replicas of ancient models such as a woman with a parrot or a mirror in one hand. Moreover, the manufacture of artistically designed utilitarian objects like ash-trays, paper weights, fruit-salad cups and flower vases was also introduced.

An important achievement of the Pashan Kalakar Sahayog Samiti was the fixation of their own rates for the various articles so as to provide an adequate margin of profit for the craftsmen. The articles were chiefly sold through retailers at Gaya. The products were also supplied directly to other parts of the country such as Calcutta, Deoghar, Aligarh, Varanasi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Hardwar and Madras. The co-operative society set up a shop at Panch Mahala in Gaya city for retail sale of stoneware articles. Sri Bhagwan Das Gaur was the President of the co-operative society, and much of the initial success was due to his active interest and dedicated work. His brother, who managed the retail shop in Gaya city, was equally industrious.

It is unfortunate that the co-operative society has ceased to function smoothly since 1961 owing to differences among its members. One cause of friction was the allegation that while the ordinary members had to supply their finished products to the co-operative society at low rates, the influential members and office-bearers of the society sold their articles directly to the traders at relatively

higher margin of profit. These differences led to the setting up of another co-operative society known as the Hansdeo Pashan Kalakar Fund, with its office-bearers belonging mainly to four families closely related to each other. In these circumstances, a conflict of interests between the members of the two co-operative societies has naturally grown and is jeopardising the larger interests of the industry.

The Hansdeo Pashan Kalakar Fund was founded from the savings of the member-families. This provides the working capital for trade in stoneware articles without the assistance of the Pashan Kalakar Co-operative Society, whose members channeled their sales through the traders at Gaya. It appears that the traders of Gaya were largely responsible for sowing the seeds of dissension among the members of the old co-operative society. Thus, they started giving loans and advances to the craftsmen indiscriminately for meeting their expenses during illness, marriage and other social rites. The co-operative society was not in a position to emulate the grant of such facilities. Again, the traders of Gaya offered better prices for the articles produced than those at which the articles were to be supplied to the co-operative society. As the traders started coming themselves to the village to purchase the articles, no cost was entailed in transportation. The channel of sale created by the co-operative society came in conflict with the interests of traders at Gaya. They naturally reacted by offering inducements to the artisans so as to make the co-operative society less ineffective. In the net result, as admitted by the craftsmen themselves, their condition at the time of the survey had worsened considerably in comparison to their relative prosperity in 1959-60 when the co-operative society functioned with cohesion and purpose.

Notwithstanding their differences in the approach to their economic problems, the Gaur Brahmin artisans of the village are securely bound together with social ties. It was contended by them almost unanimously that if more liberal State aid were provided in the shape of adequate supply of raw materials and requisite finance, the stoneware craft of Patharkatti could still develop to its full stature and even reach hitherto unattained heights.

CHAPTER II

THE ARTISANS

The artisan caste

The artisan families engaged in the stone-ware craft are confined to the Gaur Brahmins of Patharkatti hamlet. The name of the caste is derived from Gaur (in West Bengal) which was their original home. They migrated to Rajasthan due to oppression by the Muslims. They came to Gaya some time towards the end of the 18th century when their patron, Maharani Ahalya Bai of Indore, requisitioned their services for the renovation of the Vishnupad Temple at Gaya.

The origin of Brahmins (irrespective of subdivisions among them) is associated with Lord Brahma, the creating deity in the Hindu trilogy. The Brahmins are said to have emanated from Lord Brahma's mouth. Thus with their knowledge of the Vedas, they became the most learned among the castes. They worked mostly as priests. They were accorded the highest position in the social hierarchy of the Hindu because of their learning as well as their origin from the mouth of Lord Brahma. The remaining castes are said to have emanated from other baser parts of Lord Brahma's body.

Family structure

The 141 Gaur Brahmins of Patharkatti are comprised of 27 families. Of them, 17 are simple, 8 joint and 2 of other types.

Among the 17 simple families, 9 are nuclear, consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children. There are 3 incomplete families, incomplete because of the absence of children. Among them, the head of the family in one case has two living wives but both issueless. There are 3 nuclear families with dependents, the latter comprising widowed mothers in two cases, and a widowed mother with an unmarried brother in the third case. Two families are broken due to the death of husband in each case, the family consisting of the widow mother and her unmarried children.

Among the 8 joint families, 5 are made up of husband, wife and unmarried children along with married son, his wife and his children, thus constituting vertical joint families. One other vertical joint family has, in addition, a dependent widow sister. One joint family is horizontal, comprising two married brothers,

their wives and unmarried children. One joint family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children along with a married daughter (though the latter was found to have come to her parent's house only for a short visit).

In addition to the 17 simple and 8 joint families as described above, there are 2 other families. One consists of husband and wife with unmarried children and a widower son, while the other is a uni-member family.

It is apparent that while simple or nuclear type of family constitutes the dominant form, yet the proportion of joint families is also significantly high.

There is only one case in the village in which a Gaur Brahmin has two living wives. The second marriage took place as the first wife was barren. Unfortunately, the second wife had also not produced any children.

Workers

Each of the 27 families of Gaur Brahmins is dependent on stone-craft. According to the sexwise break-up of the community, there are 69 males and 72 females. It is, of course, only the adult males who are actively engaged in practising craft. Nonetheless, the adult females are also associated to some extent. Their services are particularly useful for polishing the products.

As for the actual number of persons engaged in the craft, there are 39 adult males assisted by 42 adult females. The classification is based on evaluation by the villagers themselves. According to them, persons aged 15 or more are considered to be adults. It may be noted that a boy aged about 14 years had already begun working in the industry and had learnt to make articles requiring less skill, e.g., *khalbatti* and Mahadeo.

Production units and workshops

Every practising artisan family of Gaur Brahmins in Patharkatti has its own independent house. The workshop, in most cases, is connected with the main house. The houses are constructed so as to face the main road or lane and the workshop is located in front of the house, mostly on the verandah enclosed on three sides. In addition to these cottage workshops, located in the houses of the artisan

families, there are 51 common workshops where the practising male artisans of different families work jointly for manufacturing stoneware articles. However, the artisans working together in such workshops are generally closely related to each other or are fast friends. The owners of such workshops and the artisans working in them are indicated below :

Name of owner of workshop	Name and relationship of practising artisan other than the owner
1. Dhanna Lal Gaur ..	(1) Son of Dhanna Lal Gaur (2) Nand Lal Gaur (sister's son).
2. Dhanna Lal Gaur (junior).	Madhava Lal Gaur (unrelated).
3. Tulsi Ram Gaur	Three married sons of Tulsi Ram Gaur.
4. Sibarath Gaur ..	(1) Ram Nath Gaur (brother). (2) Moti Lal Gaur (unrelated). (3) Chhotu Lal Gaur (unrelated).
5. Bhagwan Das Gaur ..	Hira Lal Gaur (brother).

In the workshop of Dhanna Lal Gaur (junior), Madhava Lal Gaur has been allowed to work as the latter's house does not have a verandah big enough for a workshop.

There are only 3 *bhattis* (bellows) for use by all the artisan families of the village. The bellows are located in the individual workshops of the following persons:

- (1) Tulsi Ram Gaur,
- (2) Chhotu Lal Gaur, and
- (3) Hari Prasad Gaur.

Two of the above workshops are located at the extreme ends of the settlement, and one is in the middle. There is no restriction in regard to use of the bellows. A person desiring to sharpen his tools is free to use any of the bellows though, naturally, he prefers the one situated close to his workshop.

Training of artisans

Institutionalised training in the stoneware craft commenced being imparted to the artisans only in 1955 through the Patharkatti Stoneware Tuitional Class, which was established by the Department of Industries, Government of Bihar. Prior to the setting up of this training centre, there was no such facility available to the artisans of the village.

Earlier, the institution responsible for imparting training to the younger folk was inevitably the family itself. Thus, according to Bhagwan Das Gaur, "The skill in stoneware craft has been acquired and inherited by me from my father. But now-a-days the facility for receiving training is available to the younger people through the training school that has been set up in the village". Formerly, and to a certain extent even at the present time, the younger male members of the family used to sit by the side of their father and gain a certain amount of insight into the various processes of manufacture of stoneware articles and gradually pick up the various phases entailed in production. Thus, craft-skill could be transmitted from father to son and so on from generation to generation. This fact was clearly brought out during the present investigation in the village. Thus, it was found that a 12-year old son of Chhotu Hiralal Gaur was making a Mahadeo. He was being guided by his elder brother who demonstrated to him the process whereby first the circular form of the *argha* was prepared with the help of a divider (known as *parkal*). Similarly, the son of Narayan Gaur (a student of the local Basic School) was also found making a small *kharal*, sitting by the side of his father who gave suitable directions.

While the importance of the family as the primary institution for imparting training in the production of simple articles such as the *kharal*, *kundi* and Mahadeo is indubitable, it is the establishment of the tuitional class that has added new dimensions to the range of articles produced. The manufacture of artistic stone images has been introduced by the tuitional class and such of the practising artisans as are now adept in this art owe their proficiency to the training received in this institution.

The master craftsmen of the village who manufacture exquisitely carved images are Gobindlal Gaur, Ramniwas Gaur and Ramnarain Gaur. The images of the Hindu deities of Shiva, Saraswati, Nataraj, Ganesh and of Lord Buddha are manufactured by them. Indeed,

an image of Nataraj made by Gobindlal Gaur secured a prize some time back. The designs for the images are supplied by the Institute of Industrial Designs, Bihar, Patna.

While the manufacture of images as listed above could make headway only as a result of the imparting of specialised training, the manufacture of stone images was not entirely an unknown art even before the setting up of the tuitional class. It was stated that the craftsmen were acquainted with the process of manufacture of images even earlier, and could manufacture images of the *Pancha Devatas*, viz., Mahadeo (*Shivalinga*), Ganesh, Parvati, Nandi (bull), and Kirtimurta, in conformity with traditional designs. It was observed in the village that images of the *Pancha Devatas* were being manufactured both by persons trained

at the tuitional class and those who had received only family training. In a specific case, Hiralal Gaur (an elderly artisan) learnt the process of manufacturing images of the *Pancha Devatas* from his father. Again, while Chhotu Lal Gaur learnt to carve images during childhood from his father, his skill was further improved when he attended the tuitional class and acquired proficiency in making images of deities other than the *Pancha Devatas*.

Irrespective of the training imparted in the tuitional class or at home, boys initiated into the craft are first trained to make a *dia* (oil-lamp), then small *kharals*, and then Mahadeos. It is only after the trainees have set their hand on less complicated work such as these that they are considered fit for further training for the manufacture of images.

CHAPTER III

ARTICLES PRODUCED : RAW MATERIALS, TOOLS AND EQUIPMENTS

Articles produced

The different kinds of stoneware articles produced by the artisans of Patharkatti may be classified under three broad heads, according to their functions, viz., (i) utilitarian, (ii) ritual, and (iii) decorative-cum-ritual.

Utilitarian objects

It was reported in the village that before the Second World War, there used to be considerable demand for utilitarian objects like plate, cup, dish, bowl, tumbler, *kharal* and *kundi*. But the craftsmen now produce only *kharal*, *kundi* and *malia* of various sizes. The manufacture of plate, dish, cups, bowls and tumblers has been given up since the kind of stone from which these used to be manufactured can be procured only with much labour. The total cost of production of such articles, therefore, becomes so high that they cannot compete with similar articles produced elsewhere, particularly in the district of Singbhum near Ghatshila.

Among the utilitarian articles produced, the *kharal* is an oblong boat-shaped vessel used for mixing and grinding different articles, particularly by medical practitioners, chemists and druggists, for preparation of indigenous medicines. The *kharal* is also used by housewives for mixing medicinal herbs with honey. The articles to be mixed, ground or made into a paste are placed in the *kharal* and pounded with a *lorhi* (pestle). The *kharal* and *lorhi* are also used for grinding dry spices and condiments. The *kharal* finds another use as a bowl for storing such liquid preparations as are spoilt if kept in metallic containers. Another popular use of the *kharal* is for grinding *bhang* (hemp), the green leaves being made into a paste and consumed with water as an intoxicating beverage.

The size of *kharals* produced by the craftsmen varies from 3 inches to 24 inches. While the *kharal* is oblong or pot shape, the *kundi* is a circular stone bowl used for the same purpose as the *kharal*. The size of the *kundi* manufactured in the village varies from 5 inches to 12 inches.

The *malia* is a small stone bowl with a circular mouth. It is used for keeping oil, whence the name. *Malias* are usually 3 inches in diameter.

Ritual objects

The ritual objects produced by the artisans are comprised of stone images of various deities of the Hindu pantheon and of Lord Buddha.

As observed earlier, the manufacture of *Pancha Devatas* in the village is continuing since generations. It used to be practised till the period prior to the Second World War. The manufacture of images of the *Pancha Devatas* was not initiated by the tuition class set up subsequently. The *Pancha Devatas* consist of the following :

- (i) Mahadeo (in the form of *Shivalinga*);
- (ii) Nandi (also known as *Basah* the bull used for transport by Lord Shiva);
- (iii) Goddess Parvati, the consort of Lord Shiva;
- (iv) Ganesh, the elephant-headed son of Lord Shiva; and
- (v) Kirtimurta (also known as *Kartikeya* the elder son of Lord Shiva).

It is usual for most Hindu temples in villages to have images of the *Pancha Devatas* installed in them. Thus, they are in much demand. The images of the *Pancha Devatas* manufactured in the village vary from 5 inches to 12 inches in height.

The use of the images of the *Pancha Devatas* is strictly restricted to ritual purposes. On specific demand, that is, if orders are specifically placed for them, images of Goddess Kali and Lord Krishna are also manufactured, again for exclusively ritual purposes.

Decorative-cum-ritual objects

Under this classification are the stone images of better workmanship and greater artistic effect. Such images are usually of Goddess Saraswati, Lord Shiva (in the personified form), Surya (the Sun God) and Lord Buddha. Although such images may be used also for ritualistic purposes, they are valued as objects of art and widely used for adorning drawing rooms as decorative pieces.

Stone images of Lord Buddha have a particularly large market. These are venerated and worshipped by the Buddhists of whom many visit the sacred Bodhi Gaya temple, not far from Gaya city. The international gathering on the occasion of the celebration of the 2,000th anniversary of attainment of *Nirvana* by Lord Buddha (celebrated in 1956) constituted one of the factors resulting in greater demand for such images. Although Lord Buddha holds an esteemed position in the Hindu religion as well, his images are seldom worshipped in Hindu temples. Nonetheless, the images of Lord Buddha are kept as show-pieces in many homes.

The images of Lord Shiva, Surya and Saraswati are also used largely as decorative pieces. But the demand for these is small compared to that for the images of Lord Buddha.

The images of Lord Shiva, Saraswati, and Surya vary from 5 inches to 12 inches in height while those of Lord Buddha are anything from 3 to 18 inches high.

Period of manufacture

The utilitarian objects are manufactured throughout the year as there is no marked periodicity in their demand. The same applies to the decorative-cum-ritual images of Lord Buddha which are generally in demand and present hardly any problem in marketing. On the other hand, the ritual objects are in demand only in certain parts of the year and their manufacture is accordingly brisk in the month or two preceding the period of demand. Thus, the installation of the *Pancha Devatas* usually takes place on the occasion of the Shivaratri festival in the month of *Phalgun* and the Ramnavami festival in the month of *Chait*. The *Pancha Devatas* are also installed in temples on any auspicious date fixed by the Brahmin between the months of *Jeth* (May-June) and *Aswin* (September-October). As noted earlier, many villages have temples with the *Pancha Devatas* installed in them. Thus, in Patharkatti

itself, there is a small temple with all the five deities. While the *Shivalinga* is in the centre of the temple, the images of Parvati, Ganesh, Nandi and Kirtimurta are at its four corners. The manufacture of images of the *Pancha Devatas*, therefore, usually takes place in the months of *Magh-Phalgun* (January-March) and in *Jeth-Aswin* (May-October). However, the *Shivalinga* (which is called Mahadeo by the artisans) is manufactured throughout the year as the demand for it does not reflect any periodical spurt.

The manufacture of images of Kali and Krishna was found to have been undertaken by some artisans at the time of the survey. The image of Lord Krishna usually finds a market on the occasion of the *Janmashtami* festival commemorating his birth held in the month of *Bhado* (July-August), and that of Kali during the Kali Puja festival in the month of *Kartik* (October-November).

Designs of the articles

A description of the designs used for the manufacture of different articles is given below. They are discussed separately for each kind of article :

1. *Kharal* (mortar)—There are two main designs used for *kharals*. The first design, which is the more common and used by most of the artisan families, is called *kishtinuma*. This, as the name itself implies, is a design which gives the shape of a boat (*kishti*) to the *kharal*. It is a traditional design about which no myth or legend has been related by the craftsmen. The *kishtinuma kharal* is the type mostly used for household purposes. It is also used by small-scale medicine manufacturers who operate it manually. The *kishtinuma kharal* is always accompanied with a *lorhi* (pestle). The *lorhi* is used by hand for pounding or mixing various substance in the mortar.

The second design is *golakar* (circular), which is not as common, being manufactured in some numbers by only one craftsman in the village, viz., Bhagwan Das Gaur. It is not a traditional design. Bhagwan Das Gaur appeared to be alive to the possibilities of introducing new designs to cater to specific needs. He began to manufacture circular *kharals* and has now specialised in this design. Such *kharals* are much in demand by the bigger concerns who manufacture indigenous medicines on a large scale and use power for grinding articles in the *kharal*. Thus, no *lorhi* is required, the function of *lorhi* being done by power-operated implements.

2. *Kundi* (bowl-like container)—The *kundi* is always circular in design. The smaller *kundis* (2 to 4 inches in diameter) are called *malias* (oil-containers). Their design is in no way different from the larger *kundis*.

3. *Mahadeo*—The symbol of Mahadeo in the form of *Shivalinga* is manufactured in five different designs, viz., (i) *Bangla*, (ii) *Gauripat*, (iii) *Nag-Feni*, (iv) *Nandi-Mahadeo*, and (v) *Gauri-Shankar*.

(i) The *Bangla* design of Mahadeo is carved out from a single stone piece. It consists of the *Shivalinga*, *argha* and *gori* (pedestal). The *gori* and the lower end of *argha* resemble of a *damru* (small drum shaped like an hour-glass) in shape. So this design is also known as the *Damrudar Bangla* design. Even in the *Bangla* design there are two different categories. One is the *Bangla* sub-design and the other the *Banarasi* sub-design. In the former, the *Shivalinga* is of relatively bigger size than in the latter.

(ii) The second design, known as *Gauripat*, consists of three parts: the *gori*, the *argha* and the *linga* which are manufactured separately and subsequently joined together. On installation, the *gori* of the *Gauripat* Mahadeo is generally fixed in the ground so that only the *argha* and the *Shivalinga* are visible. Hence the name of the design. As this design of Mahadeo is in great demand among the Sanatanists (orthodox Hindus), the *Gauripat* design is also known as *Sanatani* design.

(iii) The *Nag-Feni* design is similar to the *Bangla* design, but the upper portion of the *linga* is rounded and a snake (*nag*) is shown around it. Hence, it is called the *Nag-Feni* design.

(iv) The *Nandi-Mahadeo* design is manufactured from a single stone piece. It shows *Nandi* (bull or *basah*) facing the pointed end of the *argha*. As the images of *Nandi* and symbol of Mahadeo are shown in one piece, this design is called the *Nandi-Mahadeo* design.

(v) The *Gauri-Shankar* design is essentially made in the form of the *Bangla* design. But a female face (representing Gauri or Parvati) is

carved on the *linga*. Hence this design is known as the *Gauri-Shankar* design.

4. *Parvati*—The image of Parvati is a female figurine. The only design used for manufacture is that in which she is shown in a sitting posture, with folded hands. While this is the main design, there are two sub-designs. In the first, the image has a background. Such images are known as *Badradar* and are relief images.

But now-a-days another sub-design of Parvati is also manufactured, and is called the *Nirgam* design. This was introduced by the tuitional class. It represents the goddess in a sitting posture on a pedestal which has lotus flowers engraved on it. There is no background in *Nirgam* images.

5. *Ganesh*—Images of Ganesh are also manufactured with or without a background. In addition to this basic difference, in design, there are different forms of Ganesh which are manufactured according to demand. These can be classified into two broad heads: (i) the sitting form, and (ii) the dancing form.

The sitting form of Ganesh is generally depicted with four hands and a trunk. Each hand holds a different object. In the lower left hand are *luddoos* (sweets). The lower right hand either contains a *mala* (garland of beads) or is held in the *ashirbad mudra*. In the upper left hand is a *gandasa* (axe) while in the upper right hand Ganesh holds a *pharsa* (pole-axe). Ganesh has a crown over his head and *janco* (sacred thread) stretching from above the left shoulder to the right waist. There are two main forms in the sitting posture: (a) sitting with the legs crossed on a pedestal (known as *asandar mudra*), and (b) sitting with the right foot touching (or pointing towards) the ground and the left foot placed horizontally, touching the right thigh (known as *ashish mudra*). In the *asandar mudra*, Ganesh is presumed to be meditating with the garland and *luddoos*; while in the *asirvad mudra*, instead of holding a *mala*, he is seen giving blessings. In regard to the trunk, it may hang down vertically or be inclined either towards the left or the right. Images with the trunk inclined towards the left are very much in demand at and near Bombay. Hence the design is locally known as the *Bombay cut*. The mouse is invariably shown in the pedestal. It represents Ganesh's carrier (*vahan*).

There are no specific legends behind the various forms of the image of Ganesh. He is

taken to be a symbol of auspiciousness. (According to Hindu mythology, Ganesh is the son of Lord Shiva and Parvati and all *pujas* commence after offerings to him.) The main use of the images of Ganesh (as reported by the craftsmen) lies in their installation in temples (along with those of Mahadeo, Parvati, Kirtmurta and Nandi) as a *Pancha Devatas*. Sets containing each of these five kinds of images are usually manufactured at a time.

6. *Nandi*—*Nandi* (*Basah*), the carrier of Mahadeo, is made in two different designs in both of which the bull is depicted in a sitting posture. Of the two designs, one is called *kukru*. All the four legs of Nandi are shown in this design. In the second design (called *pasar*), only the two front legs are shown. *Kukru* is the traditional design. The craftsmen could not throw any light on any legends or explain how the traditional design had changed. In regard to the image, it was stated that the *Basah* (or bull) represents the carrier of Shiva and so the Hindus rever it. The image of Nandi also constitutes one among the *Pancha Devatas*.

7. *Kirtmurta*—The image of Kirtmurta (in the form of Shyam Kartik) is designed in two forms—

(i) In the first, the entire body of Kartik is represented: it has six heads and four hands. He is seated on his carrier (peacock). Three of the hands hold different objects, viz., *Dhanush* (bow), *Mala* (garland) and *Kamandal* (water pot) while the last one is empty. This design is manufactured only against specific demand.

(ii) The second design, which is generally used by the craftsmen is known as *Kirtmurta*. The term seems to be a corrupted form (*apabhramsha*) of *kirt mukha*, which denotes 'the face of Kartik'. In this design, the body is not shown. The general legendary belief in regard to this design is that Kartik (also a son of Shiva and Parvati), once ate up all his limbs while in great anger. That is why his face only is represented in this form of the image.

8. *Buddha*—The images of Buddha are manufactured in three different forms, viz., (i) *Bhumisparsha Mudra*, (ii) *Upadesh Mudra*, and (iii) *Abhaya Vardan Mudra*. All these designs are manufactured both with the background (*Badradar*), and without it (*Nirgam*).

(i) The *Bhumisparsha Mudra* is reported by the craftsmen to be associated with the life of Buddha relating to the period of his meditation at Gaya. The *Bhumisparsha Mudra* as a whole represents Buddha in meditation. In this form, Buddha is invariably depicted in a sitting posture with crossed legs. His eyes are closed and the middle finger of the right hand touches the ground while the left palm is kept on the crossed legs. The *chadar* and *dhoti* are also depicted and the image is seated on a pedestal. In the *Badradar* design the background is shown and various decorative motives are depicted. No background is given in the *Nirgam* design.

(ii) The second design of Buddha, known as *Upadesh Mudra*, is said to have its association with the life of Buddha while he preached at Sarnath and this design is also known as Sarnath Buddha. The image is in a sitting posture with crossed legs. The two hands are raised upward near the chest as if Buddha were preaching to his disciples. This design also is made in *Badradar* and *Nirgam* styles. The background contains decorative designs such as *Prabhamandal*.

(iii) The third design, known as *Abhaya Vardan Mudra* is reported to have its association with the life of Buddha while he was blessing his disciples at Nalanda to lead fearless lives. The image in this design is always represented in a standing posture, with one hand stretching forward and the other pointing upward. This symbolises the provision of shelter to the disciples (with the left hand stretching forward), and giving them blessings to be fearless (with the raised right hand). In this design too, both the *Badradar* and *Nirgam* styles are manufactured. On the back of the images the clothes are depicted, stretching from the neck to the feet. This makes the image assume a Lord-like appearance and hence the design is also known as the Lord Buddha design.

Raw materials

The raw material required for the manufacture of stoneware articles consists of stones of various types. The different articles manufactured for utilitarian, ritual and ritual-cum-decorative purposes are made of various types of stones, since a particular type of stone is usually more suited to the manufacture of a specific kind of stoneware articles. The various types of stones used for the manufacture of different articles are discussed below separately for each kind of stoneware product.

Raw materials used for the manufacture of utilitarian objects

1. *Kharal*—The *kishtinuma kharal* is made mostly from three important varieties of stone viz., *Pirkasauti*, *Parajit* and *Motia*. *Pirkasauti* and *Parajit* varieties are not too hard and hence easier to carve out. Usually the small *kharals* (2" to 12" in length) are made of *Pirkasauti* and *Parajit* stones for use in light work such as mixing of honey with different medicines. The harder *Motia* stone is used for manufacturing medium size *kharals* (6" to 24" in length).

In addition to the above kinds, *Tamra* and *Hansraj* stones are also used for preparing *kharals* of the sizes 4" to 24" in length. It is pertinent to note here that the big size *kharals* made of *Tamra* and *Hansraj* stones are used by large firms which manufacture *Ayurvedic* medicines. The prices of such *kharals* are comparatively much higher than those of *kharals* made of *Motia* and *Pirkasauti* stones. *Tamra* and *Hansraj* stones are rather hard and require greater skill and stamina for the manufacture of *kharals* from them. Moreover, the demand of *kharals* made of *Tamra* and *Hansraj* stones is much less than that for those made of *Motia*. The *kharals* of *Motia* are very popular. Their prices also are rather moderate and their demand is very high. However, now-a-days circular *kharals* (operated by machines) are also in demand though only one family has specialised in the manufacture of circular *kharals* made of *Hansraj* stone.

2. *Kundi*—For the manufacture of *kundis*, *Parajit* stone is mostly used. It is somewhat soft and the prices of *kundis* made from this stone are considerably lower in comparison to the prices of *kundis* made of *Pirkasauti* stone. *Kundis* are also made from *Motia* stone. They are of good quality and in much demand. Now-a-days the ordinary stone available at Singhbhum, Seraikela and Ghatshila is also used for manufacturing *kundis*. However, *Motia pathar* is the most suitable for making

kundis since these are very durable and strong and useful for reeling *badam* (almonds), and preparing drinks of *thandhai* (made from *sonf*, milk, etc.) and *bharg* (hemp).

Raw materials used for the manufacture of ritual objects

The ritual objects like Mahadeo, Nandi, Ganesh, Parvati, and Kirtimurta (which constitute *Pancha Devalas*) are made mostly of *Parajit* stone and also of ordinary *pathar* of Singhbhum. These two kinds of stones are not very hard. They can be easily worked upon, obviating the necessity of putting in much labour in working with the chisel and the hammer.

Raw materials used for the manufacture of ritual-cum-decorative objects

The important ritual-cum-decorative objects (such as images of Buddha, Shiva, Saraswati, Surya and Kali) are mostly made of *Parajit* or *Dhanmahua pathar* and *Pirkasauti pathar*. These stones are very suitable for image making because the fineness of lines and the forms in the images can be depicted with clarity and precision. Moreover, they are also easy to work upon. The images made of these two kinds of stone are not required to be coloured in black. As soon as oil and wax are rubbed on the images, they acquire a black colour. Such black images have better sale value. It may be noted images made from the ordinary Singhbhum stone do not respond in the same manner by the application of oil and wax.

Sources of the raw material

The basic raw material comprising stones of various kinds are obtained in the form of slabs from the quarries in the hillocks mostly situated in the neighbourhood of the village itself. The sources of each kind of stone are indicated below:

Pir-Kasauti stone is available from the quarries in the Patharkatti *Pahar* which, as noted earlier, is adjacent to the village of the craftsmen. The stone derives its name of *Kasauti* (meaning test) from the fact that when gold is rubbed on it, an indication of the purity of the gold is obtained. Since the stone is found near the *Majar* (grave) of a *pir* (Muslim saint) it has been given the name *Pir-Kasauti*.

Motia stone is also found in Patharkatti *Pahar*. This kind of stone usually

has some small white dots which shine like *motis* (pearls). Hence the name *Motia*.

Parajit or *Dhanmahua* stone is found in *Dhanmahua Pahar* (also known as *Katari Pahar*). The name of the stone is after the name of the hillock.

Tamra is a famous kind of stone in which some marks of copper are noticed. Hence it is named as *Tamra*. It is hard in nature, so the articles manufactured from it are strong and durable. *Tamra* stone is found in Patharkatti and *Katari Pahars*. It is available in abundance.

Hansraj stone, recently introduced in the manufacture of stoneware, is also found in Patharkatti *Pahar*. It is very hard. As noted above, this kind of stone is used by only one artisan family.

Subsidiary raw materials

Subsidiary raw materials are required for giving a finish to the stoneware articles produced. The articles of various kinds (including images) are polished and given finishing touches by rubbing the manufactured articles with stones of three different qualities, viz., very coarse, coarse, and fine. Subsequently the articles are polished with wax and pigments.

The use of carborundum stone (a carbide of silica) has been introduced recently. It is available in the size 4" × 2" × 2". Wax in the form of candle sticks, costing Re. 1.50 per dozen is used for glazing. Black pigment is purchased at the rate of 0.25 paise per *tola*. Both these subsidiary raw materials are available in Gaya city. It has been mentioned above that use of the carborundum stone is a recent introduction. Some of the artisans still use the traditional home-made rubbing stones for polishing. For rough polishing (for which the carborundum of the coarse type is suited), ordinary sand is a good substitute and is largely used for polishing the *kharal*. However, sand is not used for polishing images since there is every likelihood it may cause some parts of the images to break off. Sand is easily available from *Paumar* river which flows close by. The royalty payable for one maund of sand is only about 25 paise. Indigenous polishing stone used by the artisans is made with the help of lac (*chapra*) which is purchased from the market at Gaya for Rs. 3.50 per seer. Pieces of *Kurar* stone are mixed with *chapra* and heated. On cooling, the mixture solidified and is cut into rectangular bits which are used for

polishing. These are called *thapis*. The *thapis* made are of various types: very rough, rough and fine, the quality depending on the texture of particles of *Kurar* stone pieces used in their preparation.

Privileges enjoyed in obtaining the raw material

The artisans averred that after the completion of the Vishnupad temple at Gaya, their ancestors wanted to return to their native place in Rajasthan but the Maharaja of Tekari advised them to settle in Patharkatti village which lay in his estate. Initially he did not charge any royalty for quarrying of stone. But when the artisans had settled in the village, he bestowed upon them the right to exploit any of the hillocks on a nominal annual royalty of Re. 1.50 for each working member (*hathauru* or hammer). After the abolition of the *zamindari* system in 1950, the ownership of hillocks also vested in the State, and the State renewed the rights conferred on the artisans earlier and on the same terms and conditions. The payment of royalty is an individual obligation and it automatically ceases when an artisan dies. When any new member takes up stoneware work, he gets himself registered as a rent-payer. The rent is collected by the *Karmachari*, a government official who also realises land revenue.

There is no written record-of-rights for the exploitation of specified quarries by the various artisan families. But mutually suited adjustments were made a few generations ago according to which the different *khadans* (quarries) came to be owned by a set of families. Hence the number of families who share or are partners in a particular *khadan* has increased progressively. The following list gives the details of the ownership of some of the *khadans*:

Name of <i>khadans</i>	Name of heads of owner families
Pir-Kasauti No. I	Ramnath Gaur, Sibarath Gaur, Madhav Gaur, Ganga Prasad Gaur, Chhotu Lal Gaur, Ram Nivash Gaur (since left).
Pir-Kasauti No. II	Tulsiram Gaur, Dhanna Lal Gaur, Hiralal Gaur, Chhotu Ramnath Gaur, Ramprasad Gaur, Bhuwanlal Gaur, Ramdhani Gaur, Raja Lal Gaur, Hariprasad Gaur, Motilal Gaur.
Motia No. I	.. It is jointly owned by all the members of the co-operative society.

Name of <i>khadan</i>	Name of heads of owner families
Motia No. II ..	Hiralal Gaur and Dhanna Lal Gaur.
Tamra ..	Open to all.
Hansraj ..	Open to all.
Parajit No. I ..	Chhota Hiralal Gaur, Shiv Narain Gaur, Dhanna Lal Gaur (Chote), Tulsi Ram Gaur, Ram Prasad Gaur.
Parajit No. II ..	Hiralal Gaur, Bara Dhanna Lal Gaur, and his other three brothers.
Parajit No. III ..	Ramprasad Gaur.
Parajit No. IV ..	Bhuwan Lal Gaur, Madan Lal Gaur, Ramnath Gaur, Shivanath Gaur, Madhava Lal Gaur.
Parajit No. V ..	Open to all.

Motia khadan No. I was formerly owned by a *zamindar* from whom it was taken on lease by Bhagwan Das Gaur. After the abolition of *zamindari* he obtained a receipt of Rs. 1.50 from the *Karmachari* to establish his right over the quarry. But the other craftsmen of the village raised objections as a result of which the rights of working the quarry were transferred to the co-operative society, all the members of which now have the right to get stone from the said quarry.

Difficulties in obtaining the raw material

From the description of the availability of stone it may not be apparent that the artisans have to face difficulties in obtaining the main raw material. But the problem is quite an acute one and deserves to be noted here. Actually the artisans have no difficulty in marketing the articles produced by them. The only limiting factor in increased production is the non-availability of adequate quantities of stone. The difficulties faced in the exploitation of the quarries are discussed below, separately for each quarry.

The *Dhanmahua Pahar* is held by the co-operative society and is meant to be exploited by joint effort. But collective effort is generally lacking due to differences among the members. Again, it is not possible for the society to invest large sums of money for the exploitation of the *khadan*. Individual effort is neither possible nor desirable, both because of the financial implications as well as the existence of joint ownership of the society over the quarry. If any individual were to take the

lead, he would have to do so without any co-operation in the various operations connected with exploitation of the *khadan*, but none of the legally entitled beneficiaries would be likely to forgo their rights in the stone quarried. The stone from this *khadan* is very suited to the manufacture of images and utensils, and the latter, if manufactured find a good market. But the artisans do not make any utensils because of lack of availability of stone slabs of requisite sizes. The larger stone slabs required for manufacturing utensils cannot be obtained by simply picking up from the *khadan*. It requires systematic and scientific devices which are lacking. Another practical difficulty is that artisans who do not know the art of image making have to content themselves by making other articles like *kundi* and *Mahadeo* which fetch poor prices as compared to images of the same size. As there are few image-makers, the *Dhanmahua* stones are largely wasted in the sense that they are also used for making *Mahadeo* and *kundi*.

The *Pirkasauti khadans* are owned by various families as shareholders. Therefore, there is difficulty in obtaining the required quantity of *Pirkasauti* stones by the artisan families who are not owners. Secondly, *Pirkasauti* stone is not found in abundance. Though it is excellently suited to image-making often the manufacturers of images do not get adequate quantities of the stone while others (who hold shares in the *Pirkasauti* quarries) wastefully utilise such stone for manufacturing cruder objects such as *Mahadeo* and *kharal*. Much labour and a large capital are required for the exploitation of the *Pirkasauti khadan* since the stone slabs are generally found in between too hard layers. Removal of the top hard layer is essential for taking out the *Pirkasauti* stone from the *khadan*. The large amount of labour and capital required for quarrying make the cost of the *Pirkasauti* stone very high. When the stone is used for making *kharal* and *Mahadeo* the artisans have to face difficulty because the cost of production becomes so high as to leave no margin of profit. But images made of *Pirkasauti* stone fetch high prices.

There is no difficulty in getting *Motia* stone slabs but if co-operative efforts were made to exploit the *Motia khadans*, the artisans would be able to get raw materials for the whole year and even in the absence of *Pirkasauti* and *Dhanmahua* stones they could earn their living. As it is, they have often to sit idle without any work because of the non-availability of raw material.

In regard to *Tamra* and *Hansraj*, there is no difficulty in obtaining these stones. But quarrying these stones requires much physical labour.

For *Parajit* again, there is no difficulty in obtaining the stone as the *Katari Pahar* is close to Patharkatti village. But like *Dhanmahua* and *Pirkasauti* stones, it also requires systematic and scientific efforts to exploit the *khadans* so that stones of various sizes are made available in required quantities to each and every artisan according to his needs.

Tools and equipments

The main tools used for the manufacture of stoneware articles are hammers and chisels (*chheni*) of various types and sizes.

The hammers are mostly of two types : (i) the small-size ones called *hathauri*, and (ii) the medium-size ones called *hathaura*. The *hathaura* is utilized for rough work, and is used mostly in the making of *kharal* and *kundi* and also while giving the shape or broad outline of the various images. But in carving out the different parts of the images and also in preparing the *Mahadeo* (*Shivalinga*), the small-size *hathauri* is used. These two types of hammers are owned by almost all the artisans. They are purchased mostly from the local blacksmith residing in the nearby Khukhari village and also sometimes from Neyamatpur. At times the artisans also purchase hammers at Gaya. The price of these two types of hammer varies from Rs. 2.00 to Rs. 4.50. The very large-size hammer (locally known as *ghana*) is used for breaking stone slabs. It is not owned by all the families. At Patharkatti about half the total number of artisans were found owning *ghanas*. The *ghana* is purchased from Gaya and its price varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 32. The artisans who do not own a *ghana* borrow it free of cost from those who have it.

Chisels (*chhenis*) of different types are used for various purposes. There is no difference in their overall size but the working ends show variations in form. The names of the various types of chisel are *takla*, *takli* and *chirni*. Although the use of all the three kinds is for chiselling, the *takla* is used for rough work like sizing, while the *takli* is used for engraving and the *chirni* for smoothing the surface. The edge of the *takla* is flat and only a little sharp; that of the *chirni* more flat and rather sharp while the working edge of *takli* is pointed. The chisels of the various types described above cost only about Re. 1 each.

The *parkal* (divider) is used for taking measurements for giving a definite form and shape to the manufactured product. Thus, while making a *kishtinuma kharal*, the boat like outline is drawn with the help of the divider. Similarly, the circular outline is also drawn with it. Apart from drawing and measuring outlines, the *parkal* is also used for measuring thickness for ensuring uniformity in the different parts of the object made. Again, in making an image, different divisions are made with the help of the *parkal* so that the face, chest, palms, feet, arms, nose and ears are made of the required size in proper proportions. The *parkals* cost about Rs. 2.50 each.

The L-square is called *gunia* by the craftsmen. It is used for sizing and measuring of the articles produced. The cost of a *gunia* is about the same as that for a *parkal* (Rs. 2.50).

The bellows are locally known as *bhatti*. They are used for providing blast to the lit-up coal on which the chisels are heated and sharpened. There are only five bellows in the village. The *bhatti* consists of bellows made of leather fixed on to vertical logs supported by a horizontal log. The bottom of the bellow is tied with a stick which is also supported by an iron rod fixed on the top of the two vertical logs. At the other end of the stick is a chain which is pulled and released alternately to provide air through the pipe fixed with the bellow which opens inside the hearth. The cost of bellows is about Rs. 15.

Rambha or *godala* is a big iron rod, one end of which is flat and slightly pointed. It is used to break the stone slabs and also used for making holes in the *khadan* for blasting. It costs about Rs. 10. Only 16 artisan families own *rambhas*. Those who do not own them borrow them from others free of cost.

The *guli* is about 1.5" in size having a flat bottom. It is used for breaking stone slabs when beaten by *ghana*.

The *seek* (also known as *gaz*) is used for fixing dynamite inside the hole made in a stone slab with the *rambha*. It is mostly made of umbrella-spokes.

Reti (file) is used for sharpening the various tools and implements. In the village every-one does not own one but all the families owning bellows also have *retis*. It costs about Rs. 3 each.

Those who do not have *gunias* use scales. All the families own at least one scale of one foot size. It is purchased from the *bazar* for 0.12 paise each.

The pencil is used for making outlines of the images.

The various iron tools and implements are

manufactured by the local blacksmiths of villages Khukhari and Noyamatpur and also by the craftsmen themselves. The hammers of various sizes are made by the *lohars* and sometimes also purchased from the market at Gaya. The *rambha*, *gunia*, and *parkal* are also purchased from Gaya, while *chhenis* of various sizes are made by the craftsmen themselves.

CHAPTER IV
PRODUCTION

The articles produced and their designs, the different raw materials required and the various tools and equipments used have been discussed in the previous chapter. Details of production may now be considered. Some aspects of it are the place of production and the working hours followed. However, the most important aspect to be discussed in this chapter is the technique of production encompassing the various stages of manufacture beginning from the raw materials used ending with the finished articles.

Place of production

The production units have been discussed earlier in Chapter II. It has been noticed that the stoneware artisans generally have their own workshops which are attached to their residential houses and generally located in the front verandahs. Most of the artisan families have their own independent workshops but there are five workshops in which a number of craftsmen work together. The tools and implements used are all portable in nature. They are not kept in the workshop when work is not being performed. In most cases they are kept inside the house and sometimes in an attached store-room of small size. There are only two such store-rooms attached to workshops in which a number of craftsmen work jointly. No independent unit has such a store-room.

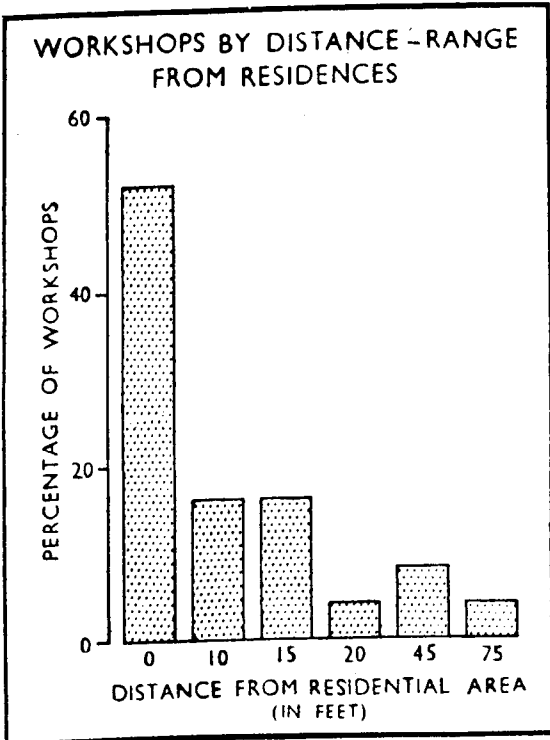
The following table, showing the distance of the workshop from the main residential area, only highlights the fact that there is hardly any distance between the working and living quarters of the craftsmen of Patharkatti village :

TABLE II Distance of workshop from residential area			
Distance from residential area	Number of work-shops	Percentage of workshops	
1. Nil	13	52.00	
2. 10 feet	4	16.00	
3. 15 feet	4	16.00	
4. 20 feet	1	4.00	
5. 45 feet	2	8.00	
6. 75 feet	1	4.00	
Total	25	100.00	

NOTE : One artisan family does not have an independent workshop.

In fact, only one individually owned workshop lies more than 15 feet away from the residence of its owner. In this case the artisan

who is also a grocer, has his workshop near his shop rather than near his house.



The workshops (being mostly located in verandahs) are rectangular in configuration. Polishing of the stoneware articles is done inside the house in most cases; some workshops also have a separate place for polishing. The workshop also serves various other purposes such as entertaining guests, for a sitting room, and even for sleeping in the summer season. The following table indicates the dimensions of the workshops in the village :

TABLE III Sizes of the physical structures used as workshops		
Size of the physical structure (in feet)	Number of workshops	
4X10	2	
6X12	2	
6X15	2	
7X10	1	
7X15	1	
8X8	1	
8X10	5	
8X12	1	
8X15	2	
8X18	2	
8X20	2	
8X30	1	
10X15	1	
10X20	1	
11X15	1	
Total	25	

NOTE : One artisan does not own a workshop.

Hours of work

Normally the craftsmen begin to work at about 7 A.M. after their breakfast and continue up to noon. At noon they have a break for bath, lunch and some rest. They resume work again at about 3 P.M. and work up to 6 P.M., thus putting in about 7 hours every day. Although the hours of work often vary in accordance with the age and physique of the artisans, a working day averages from 6 to 8 working hours. According to information collected, only three persons worked for less than 6 hours per day.

The following table indicates the number of hours put in daily by the craftsmen :

TABLE IV			
Hours per working day			Number of craftsmen
Hours of work per day			
(1) Two hours	..	..	1
(2) Four hours	..	..	1
(3) Five hours	..	..	1
(4) Six hours	..	..	11
(5) Seven hours	..	..	1
(6) Eight hours	..	..	11
Total	..	..	26

The craftsman who reported working for only four hours per day was 42 years of age and of sound physique but his eyesight was defective and he could not stand the strain of longer hours of work. Another person who worked for only five hours was a bachelor without any dependent. So he worked according to his convenience and even by working only five hours everyday, he was able to earn enough to meet his requirements. The third person, who reported working for only two hours daily, was a grocer for whom manufacture of stoneware was only a subsidiary occupation.

Stages of production

The various processes in the production of stoneware articles may conveniently be classified under two main heads, viz., (i) manufacturing and (ii) polishing.

Manufacture proceeds in a number of stages. These are discussed below, separately for each kind of stoneware article.

Process of manufacturing *kharal* and *kundi*

For making a *kharal* of any size from a stone slab, the first thing to be safeguarded is that the stone should be kept *petebar*. If it is not kept *petebar* (the opposite being *arang*) then there is every likelihood that the stone will break at the time of working on it. But if

the stone slab is kept *petebar*, there is no chance of breakage of the article. (*Petebār* signifies the position in consonance with the grains in the stone.) Then a measure is taken of the size of *kharal* that is to be manufactured from the particular stone slab. When the size is determined, the stone slab is beaten with a hammer for removing the edges which are not required. This process is locally called *tap*. Next the stone slab is made to size on all sides with the help of the hammer and the chisel (*takla*). This process is known as *daborna*.

After *daborna*, the upper surface (called *peta*) and the lower surface (called *pendi*) are levelled with the hammer and the chisel. Next, the divider (*parkal*) is used to mark the outline of the boat-like oval design on the upper surface. The light markings made by the *parkal* are further deepened with the hammer and *chheni*. Then, beginning from the upper surface, all the sides are levelled with the hammer and *takla*. This process is called *dolna*. When the sides have been levelled from upper surface, the process is repeated starting from the lower surface after which the sides are properly levelled. The levelling process from the lower end (*pendi*) is called *madholna*.

Subsequently, with the help of *takla* and hammer, 'digging' is done within the marked portion of the upper surface. When the digging is done within an inclined plane, it is called *rapat*; and when it is done straight, it is called *chedi*. When digging of the *kharal* is complete, the edges and corners of the upper portion are made level with *chirni* (a type of chisel) and hammer. The edge of the upper surface is called *badra*, and entire process of levelling the *badra* is known as *badra mathna*. When this process has been completed, the *kalasi* process is begun with the help of the *parkal* to determine whether the height of the *kharal* from the *pendi* (i.e., its depth) is uniform. When this is done, the lower surface (*pendi*) is further levelled and smoothened, this process being called *pendi mathna*. A final check-up of the height and width of the *badra* (edge of the upper surface) is then made with the *parkal*, the check-up being known as *birta ferna*. Then, beginning from the upper surface, all the sides are further smoothened with *chirni* and hammer, and this process is called *chikash lagana*. Finally, *godna* is done in the dug out portion so that it may also be made plain and symmetrical. With this, the *kharal* is ready.

The same processes are adopted for manufacturing *kundis*. The only difference is that instead of *kishtinuma* shape of *kharal*, the

kundi is circular (*golukar*) in form; otherwise, each process for making the *kharal* is repeated.

Mahadeo

As noted earlier, the Mahadeo (in the form of *Shivalinga*) is manufactured in three parts. These are of definite proportions in size. The height of the *linga* is equal to the diameters of the *argha* and the pedestal (*gori*). The height of the *gori* up to the middle of the *argha* is equal to the height of the *linga*.

The technique of manufacturing the Mahadeo is not different from the making of the *kharal* in so far as the different processes involved in manufacturing are concerned. It may be thus sub-divided into nine processes, viz., (1) *daborna*, (2) *dolna*, (3) *badra mathna*, (4) *pendi mathna*, (5) *birta ferna*, (6) *chikash lagana*, (7) *gola* (*kangna*) *nikalna*, (8) *linga mathna*, and (9) *galta nikalna*.

Of these processes, the first six are identical with those adopted for manufacturing the *kharal*. However, the seventh, eighth and ninth stages are different. The seventh process involves making the pedestal in which, with the help of the hammer and *takli*, the ring around the middle of the pedestal is made. This circular ring is called *gola* or *kangna* (literally wristlet); hence, the process is called *gola* or *kangna nikalna*. The eighth process (*linga mathna*) means levelling of the *linga* portion and smoothening it with the help of hammer and *chirni*. The final process of *galta nikalna* involves the making of a small depression over the whole of the *argha*, to enable the water offered on the *linga* to flow downwards.

Nandi

Nandi is the form of a bull (*Busah*). The length of Nandi is divided into 3 parts. All the three parts are equal. The first part is the head, the second the neck up to the hump, and the third part extends up to the end of the back. The entire process involved in the manufacturing of a Nandi is almost the same as described earlier, and includes such processes as *tap*, *daborna*, *dolna*, *madholna* and *mathna*. The minute details such as carving of *khur* (hooves), eyes, mouth and ears are finished after the five processes listed above have been completed.

Ganesh

The images of Ganesh in the sitting and standing postures are divided into different parts for manufacture. In the sitting posture the division is into four and half parts. The

first part runs from the forehead to the face, second up to the chest, the third up to navel, the fourth up to the lower end of the crossed legs and the final half part consists of the pedestal. The standing image of Ganesh is divided into eight parts: the first from the forehead to the chin, the second up to the chest, the third up to the navel, the fourth up to the hips. The remaining four parts are from the thighs down to the feet. In the standing posture the width of the image is half its height, while in the sitting posture the height and the width of the image are equal. In manufacturing the image of Ganesh (as in the case of any other image), first of all the central line known as *garva rekha* is drawn after sizing the stone. Then the total height is divided into four and a half or eight equal divisions depending upon the posture in which Ganesh is to be shown. Next the outline sketch is drawn with the help of a pencil. The following processes again are *dolna*, *badra mathna*, *pendi mathna* and *chikash lagana*. Final touches are comprised of making the fingers, toes, crossed legs and waist, the face, eyes, and trunk. Ganesh is usually depicted with a protruding belly.

Buddha

The images of Buddha are manufactured in three main designs, viz., *Bhumisparsha Mudra*, *Sarnath Mudra* or *Upadesh Mudra*, and *Abhaya Varadan Mudra*.

The *Bhumisparsha* and *Upadesh Mudras* show Buddha in a sitting posture, while the *Abhaya Varadan Mudra* depicts him standing. As in the case of images of Ganesh, the images of Buddha in the sitting posture are made in four and a half divisions, and those in a standing posture in eight divisions. The waist of Buddha in the sitting posture is shaped like a cow's mouth, and termed *Gomukhakar*.

Shiva

The images made in a sitting posture also have 4½ divisions. The processes of manufacturing are the same. However, there are different shapes and forms manufactured according to the description in the *Dhyan Shlokas*.

Other images

Other images are made by the same processes as described above. The proportions of different parts and postures naturally vary. Vishnu, Krishna, and Hanuman are always made in the standing posture (with eight divisions).

Polishing

The next important stage in the production of a stoneware article consists of polishing, which is done on every article except the *kundi*. There are two methods of polishing an article, the traditional and the modern.

According to the traditional method, polishing is done with sand. The inner and outer surfaces of the *kharal* are rubbed with coarse sand, the process being known as *balumar*. Fine sand is then used for producing greater smoothness (*retiana*). Then a stone found near Sasaram (Shahabad district) is used whence the stage of polishing is called *Sasarama*. Subsequent stages of polishing are undertaken to produce progressively greater smoothness and shine. These are called *bajra*, *mota kuram*, *chausan*, *mal* and *phool mal*. For these stages the artisans prepare the polishing stone at home from *Kuram pathar* particles of various textures: coarse, large, medium-fine and fine, which are mixed with *chapra* (lao) and heated. The mixture on solidifying is made into rectangular pieces or sticks. When

sticks of coarse *Kuram* stone are used, the polishing is called *bajra*. When sticks of slightly better quality *Kuram* stone of bigger size are used, the polishing is called *mota kuram*. *Ohausan* is done with sticks of medium-sized *Kuram* stone. *Mal* and *phool mal* processes of polishing are done with sticks made of fine and very fine particles of *Kuram* stone.

In the end, black pigment mixed with oil is applied on the article and finally rubbed with wax to give a shine. However, black pigment is not used in articles made of *Pirkasauti* and *Motia* stones which acquire black colour merely by the application of oil.

The modern method of polishing is by using carborundum which is purchased from Gaya. Carborundum pieces of fineness 120, 80, 40 are used, being usually available in the form of sticks 2" × 4" × 2" in size and costing Rs. 5 each. The use of carborundum precludes the utilization of indigenously manufactured polishing stones made of lac and *Kuram* stone. The manufacturers of images generally use carborundum for polishing.

CHAPTER V

STORAGE, MARKETING AND TRANSPORT

Storage

There is no difficulty in regard to the storage of stoneware articles manufactured by the artisans. Except for the *Pancha Devatas*, there is no fixed period for the manufacture of the various articles and their disposal. Most objects are manufactured throughout the year and disposed of according to demand for them from the dealers of Gaya city. Usually the time-lag between manufacture and disposal is about one month.

The following table indicates the time-lag between manufacture and sale, as reported by the craftsmen :

Number of artisans	Time-lag reported
2	.. 10 days.
4	.. 15 days.
1	.. 20 days.
1	.. 25 days.
16	.. 1 month.
2	.. 2 months.

It is evident that most of the artisans hold that the time-lag between the manufacturing of an article and its disposal is about one month or less. The articles are, therefore, required to be stored for about a month at the most. There is no difficulty in this because the manufactured and finished articles are kept in the houses of the craftsmen. The only precaution generally taken is to keep them on elevated shelves so that the articles may be out of reach for small children. Over three-fifths (61.5 per cent) of the artisans reported that the finished articles were kept in a living room on some shelf attached to the wall. However, the others opined that the articles were also kept on the floors of rooms inside the house. There is no special store-room for the finished articles. Only in two cases are store-rooms attached to the workshops and these are at some distance from the residential area. These two store-rooms are, however, not meant exclusively for storage of the finished goods, but are also used for storing the raw materials and the various tools and implements.

Marketing

Marketing of the stoneware articles does not present any problem. In fact the craftsmen reported that they were unable to meet the demand of the tradesmen who were their main customers. The traders of Gaya usually place orders for different articles and come to take delivery in the village itself. Sometimes the craftsmen also take their finished products to the Gaya market by bullock-cart or by bus. Most of the craftsmen reported that they seldom took the finished products to Gaya. On the other hand, the traders of Gaya, who were mostly relations, came to the village itself to purchase the goods, and arrangement for transport of the goods to Gaya was made by the tradesmen themselves.

So far as marketing is concerned, only 3 out of the 26 craftsmen reported that they sold their goods on retail basis to the co-operative society or to outsiders. Among these 3, one sold all his products to outsiders while the other two sold 75 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of their products to the co-operative society and the remainder to outsiders on retail basis. But the majority of craftsmen (23 out of 26) reported that they sold their goods on wholesale basis to the co-operative society as well as to the traders. Generally, the *kharal*, the *kundi* and the Mahadeo are sold on wholesale basis to the co-operative society. The traders are supplied with these objects as well as the images and other articles.

The following table shows the percentages of total production sold to the traders and the co-operative society :

Number of craftsmen	Percentage of total traders	Production sold to co-operative society
7	100	Nil
1	90	10
8	80	20
4	75	25
1	70	30
4	50	50
1	25	75

It is seen that there are only two kinds of outlet for marketing the finished goods, viz., traders from outside and the co-operative society. Besides being sold to the traders of Gaya, the *Pancha Devalas* are also sold to groups of individuals belonging to a certain village for installation in the village temple.

Transportation

Since the marketing of goods is almost wholly channelled through traders and the co-operative

society in the village itself, the transport of finished goods is not the responsibility of the artisans. There is thus no problem of transportation of goods. Only four craftsmen reported having sold their goods to outsiders with the obligation of transporting the articles to Gaya. In such cases, the transportation is done by bullock-cart or by bus. It is, of course, difficult to transport the finished goods during the rains. Even during this period the bullock-carts solve the problem to some extent though the charges are understandably much higher.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMICS OF THE CRAFT

The economics of the stoneware craft in the village may be viewed first in terms of the cost of production and, secondly in terms of the input and output ratio which will indicate the profit or loss incurred by the craftsmen.

Cost of production

1. *Kharal*—In assessing the cost of production of the various stoneware articles, some difficulty was met with in regard to estimation of the exact cost as also of the specific quantity of raw materials required. However, the craftsmen were able to make workable estimates of the cost of production of each article. The estimated cost of production of *kharals* of different sizes is given below :

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
3	0.05	0.30	0.05	0.40
4	0.11	0.50	0.05	0.66
5	0.33	1.00	0.10	1.43
6	0.39	1.00	0.20	1.59
7	0.25	2.00	0.20	2.45
8	0.50	2.00	0.45	2.95
10	0.50	4.00	0.50	5.00
12	0.50	6.50	1.00	8.00
12½	2.50	10.00	1.50	14.00
13	0.75	7.50	0.75	9.00
18	1.00	16.00	1.75	18.75
20	1.50	17.50	2.00	21.00
24	1.50	20.00	4.00	25.50

The cost of production is comprised of the cost of raw materials (which includes the cost of its transportation), the unpaid wages and the cost of polishing (which includes cost of the raw materials used for polishing as well as labour charges). The cost of production of *kharals* of different sizes varies according to the labour involved in the manufacture as well as the cost of raw materials and polishing charges. In some cases the estimated cost of big size *kharals* is comparatively low due to lower estimates of the cost of both raw materials and unpaid wages. The lower cost of raw

materials in such cases is due to difference in the type of stone which also affects the time and labour required for manufacture. Thus, the estimated cost of raw materials for a *kharal* 7" in size is lower than that for a *kharal* 5" or 6" in size. This is due to the fact that while the 7-inch *kharal* is made of *Motia* stone (which is found in abundance and involves lower cost of labour in collecting and transporting), the smaller *kharals* (5-6 inches in size) are made of *Pirkasauti* stone which requires more labour to quarry from the *khadans* and also involves higher expenditure in transport. So the cost of a *kharal* made of *Pirkasauti* stone is higher than that of one made of *Motia* stone. But *Motia* is relatively hard and so the labour cost for the manufacture of a *kharal* from it is somewhat higher than that for making a *kharal* from *Pirkasauti* stone which is not as hard.

The cost of raw material is highest for the *kharal* of 12½" size. This arises due to the fact of its being made from *Hansraj* stone which is difficult to procure and costly to transport. Again, *Hansraj* is a very hard stone. So the estimate of unpaid wages for the manufacture of the round *kharal* is also high. The cost of production in this case is higher than that of even larger *kharals* made of *Motia* stone.

2. *Kundi*—The estimated cost of production of *kundis* of different sizes is given in the following table :

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Total cost
3	0.12	0.60	0.72
4	0.21	1.00	1.21
5	0.25	1.50	1.75
6	0.34	1.70	2.04
7	0.35	3.00	3.35
9	0.37	4.00	4.37
10	0.50	6.00	6.50

The *kundi* is mostly made of *Motia* stone. However, sometimes *Parajit* stone and the ordinary stone of Chandil (Singhbhum) are also used. But the demand for *kundis* of *Motia*, which are very durable, is great. The estimates of cost of production of the *kundis* in the above table are for those made of *Motia* stone. The use of Chandil stone is rather uncommon due to its being hard to obtain. However, *Parajit* is also used for making *kundis* and there is not much difference in the cost of production of a *kundi* from either *Motia* or *Parajit* stone.

3. *Buddha*—The images of Buddha are generally made from the easily available *Dhan-mahua* stone because *Pirkasauti* stone is not available in requisite quantities. The labour required for making images for either kind of stone is about the same, since it is soft and has the quality of retaining fine expression. The following table gives details of the cost of production of images of Buddha in different sizes :

TABLE IX.

Average cost (in rupees) of production of Buddha images of various sizes

Height (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
4	0.50	3.00	0.37	3.87
5	0.50	4.00	0.50	5.00
6	0.50	6.00	0.75	7.25
7	0.50	10.00	1.00	11.50
8	0.50	10.00	1.00	11.50
11	3.00	20.00	6.00	29.00
12	2.50	24.00	6.50	33.00

It is observed that the cost of raw material is the same for images up to 8 inches in height. This is so because transportation charges constitute the main element of the cost of smaller pieces of stone. However, the larger stones cost much more.

4. *Nandi*—Nandi is manufactured in a sitting posture chiefly in two sizes, viz., 8 inches and 10 inches. The estimated cost of pro-

duction of Nandi is given in the following table :

TABLE X

Average cost (in rupees) of production of Nandi

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
8	0.50	5.00	0.50	6.00
10	0.50	6.00	0.50	7.00

The variation in the cost of production of the two sizes of Nandi shows that the difference arises only on account of variation in the estimated unpaid wages.

5. *Ganesh*—The estimated cost of production of images of Ganesh in various sizes is given in the following table :

TABLE XI

Average cost (in rupees) of production of images of Ganesh in different sizes

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
5	0.50	4.00	0.50	5.00
8	0.50	7.50	0.75	8.75
10	1.00	8.00	0.87	9.87
16	1.00	10.00	1.00	12.00

It is seen that the estimated average unpaid wages and polishing charges vary in each case while the cost of slabs is the same for 5" and 8" stones on the one hand and for 10" and 16" stone on other. The variation in the cost of production of Ganesh of various sizes arises mainly from the time taken for manufacture. This is amply reflected in differences in the estimated unpaid wages.

6. *Parvati*—The estimated cost of production of images of Parvati in three different

sizes (which are most commonly manufactured in the village) is given in the following table :

TABLE XII

Average cost (in rupees) of production of images of Parvati in different sizes

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
5	0.62	5.00	0.75	6.37
8	1.50	8.00	0.75	10.25
10	2.50	10.00	1.50	14.00

7. *Mahadeo*—Mahadeo (in the form of *Shivalinga*) is manufactured in 11 different sizes. The average cost of production of each size of Mahadeo is given in the table below :

TABLE XIII

Average cost (in rupees) of production of Mahadeos (*Shivalingas*)

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
2½	0.07	0.50	0.05	0.62
3	0.11	0.60	0.05	0.76
3½	0.21	0.90	0.07	1.18
6	0.25	4.00	0.45	4.70
7	0.25	5.00	0.45	5.70
8	1.00	7.00	1.00	9.00
9	1.00	8.00	1.00	10.00
10	1.50	9.00	1.00	11.50
12	1.50	12.50	1.00	15.00
14	2.00	14.00	1.50	17.50
15	2.50	16.00	2.00	20.50

The cost of production of Mahadeo varies for each size due to differences in the cost of the raw material, estimated unpaid wages as well as cost of polishing.

8. *Kirtmurta*—Images of Kirtmurta are generally made depicting the face of the Kartikeya and in two common sizes, viz., 5 inches and 6 inches. The average cost of production

of each of these two sizes of Kirtmurta is given below :

TABLE XIV

Average cost (in rupees) of production of images of Kirtmurta

Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5
5	0.25	2.00	0.30	2.55
6	0.62	2.50	0.50	3.62

9. *Other images*—Apart from the different kinds of images discussed above, which are manufactured in different sizes, there are some other images which are manufactured in only one size each. The cost of production of each of the latter is given in the following table :

TABLE XV

Average cost (in rupees) of production of various images

Image of deity	Size (in inches)	Average cost of raw material	Average unpaid wages	Average cost of polishing	Total cost
1	2	3	4	5	6
Krishna	10	2.50	20.00	5.00	27.50
Kali ..	12	3.00	24.00	6.50	33.50
Shiva ..	5	0.37	4.00	0.62	5.00
Hanuman	14	1.50	8.00	0.75	10.25
Surya	21	12.00	200.00	30.00	242.00

Images of Krishna, Kali, Shiva, Hanuman and Surya are made only to order, unlike those of Buddha. Greater labour is required in manufacturing and polishing these articles, resulting in their cost of production being much higher. Greater skill is also required in making them. Their manufacture is thus confined to the master-craftsmen in the village.

Total output

The total number of various stoneware articles manufactured in the village was 18,716 in 1964. Their total price was estimated at Rs. 50,356. The total annual production may, therefore, be taken to be about Rs. 50,000.

The following table details the number of each of the different kinds of articles manufactured and their estimated prices :

TABLE XVI
Articlewise total output and price, 1964

Name of article	Total output in 1964	Estimated price (in Rs.)
1. Kharal	9,314	19,650
2. Mahadeo	4,460	10,217
3. Kundi	2,599	5,770
4. Malia	800	300
5. Buddha	715	4,839
6. Nandi	266	2,706
7. Ganesh	228	3,536
8. Kartik or Kirtimurta ..	158	1,804
9. Parvati	130	954
10. Shiva	40	400
11. Hanuman	5	100
12. Kali	1	80
Total	18,716	50,356

The utilitarian objects (*kharal*, *kundi* and *malia*) account for as much as 68 per cent of the total number of articles produced, their value being over half (51.1 per cent) of the total.

Mahadeo, Nandi, Ganesh, Kartik and Parvati (constituting the *Pancha Devas* and representing the ritual objects) account for 28.2 per cent of the number and 38.1 per cent of the value of the total production.

The ritual-cum-decorative objects numbered only 751 (or 3.8 per cent of the total) though their value was 10.8 per cent. Images of Buddha constituted the main item among ritual-cum-decorative articles.

Input

The craftsmen were not able to give any reliable record of the total input during the year. However, they made certain estimates on the basis of labour put in, but this was hardly adequate. In regard to the raw materials they reported that they worked the *khadan* (quarry) jointly and their expenditure amounted to about Rs. 15 per family. Usually the raw material is collected without any blasting and, in such cases, only the cost of transportation is involved. In so far as tools and implements are concerned, the craftsmen opined that the total value of all the tools and implements

with the artisans in the village would be about Rs. 3,000 each practising family having tools worth about Rs. 50 or so. Thus no statistical estimate of the total input was possible.

Profit

In regard to profit earned, the craftsmen take the estimated unpaid wages as their profit. The cost of raw materials (both main and subsidiary) is usually not much in relation to the selling price. However, the selling price *minus* the cost of raw materials represents the profit or the unpaid wages of the artisan. As the craftsmen (except one) have no occupation other than manufacture of stoneware, the monthly income reported by them is comprised of their net profit from sale of the articles manufactured by them. Apart from one artisan having business as his primary occupation, two artisans were engaged as instructors in the Stoneware Tuitional Class. Three families also reported some income from livestock.

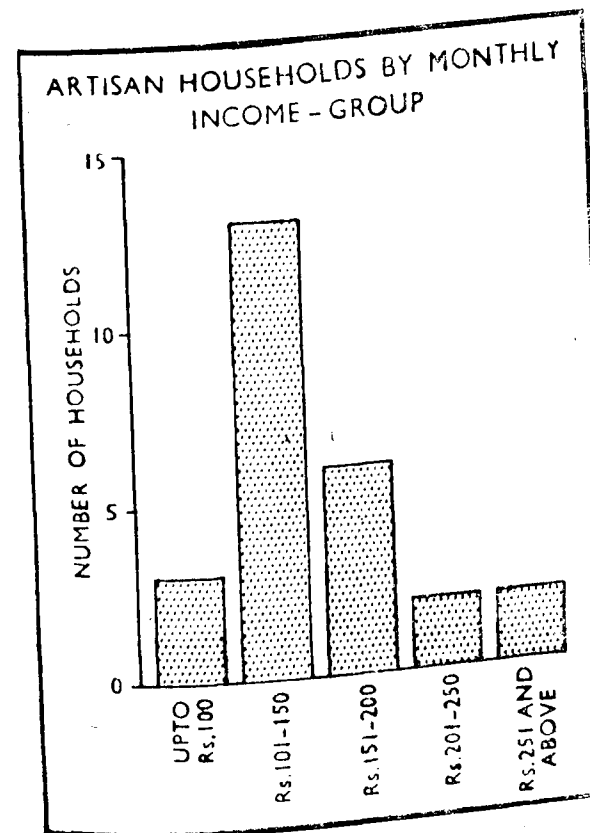
Income

The total monthly income from the stoneware craft for all the 26 artisan households in 1964 was estimated at Rs. 4,080.56 giving an average of Rs. 156.94 per household. The following table gives the monthly income groups of the artisan households :

TABLE XVII

Classification of artisan households by monthly income-group

Income-group	Number of households	Total monthly income
Less than Rs. 100 ..	3	282.33
Rs. 101—Rs. 150 ..	13	1,718.64
Rs. 151—Rs. 200 ..	6	1,042.59
Rs. 201—Rs. 250 ..	2	450.00
Rs. 251 and above ..	2	586.00
Total ..	26	4,080.56



Expenditure

The expenditure of the artisan households may be categorised under two broad heads, viz., (i) on productive items, and (ii) on non-productive items.

The productive items of expenditure include the amounts spent in obtaining the main and subsidiary raw materials as also payment of wages and cost of transportation for obtaining the raw materials. The unproductive items include consumption expenditure on food, clothing, housing, education, etc. So far as productive items are concerned, the total amount spent by the 26 families was Rs. 366.50 in a year, or an average of Rs. 14.10 per month. Expenditure on cereals and non-cereals averaged

Rs. 58.15 and Rs. 33.25 per household respectively. Apart from food, expenditure on clothing, housing, education, fuel and lighting, recreation, etc. (which may be categorised under "others") was Rs. 41.62 per household. It is thus seen that the total expenditure on all items productive as well as non-productive, was Rs. 147.10 per household per month.

The items of expenditure and the amount spent on each for all the 26 families are summarised in the following table :

TABLE XVIII
Items of expenditure

Items of expenditure	Amount spent per month by all 26 households	Average per household
	Rs.	Rs.
I. Productive purposes ..	366.50	14.10
II. Non-productive items—		
(a) Cereals ..	1,512.00	58.15
(b) Non-cereals ..	864.50	33.25
(c) Others ..	1,082.25	41.62
Total ..	3,825.25	147.12

From the average monthly income and expenditure per household indicated above, it is evident that an artisan household has, on an average, a monthly saving of Rs. 9.84 only. However, considering the actual position of each family, it was found that five families had deficit budget. Three of them were in the monthly income-group of less than Rs. 100, while the other two belonged to the income-group of Rs. 101—150 per month.

Expenditure on productive items is not much and can be easily met from the family savings. Moreover, the craftsmen can also obtain loans and advances from the co-operative society as well as from their patrons, mostly dealers of stoneware articles in Gaya city.

CHAPTER VII

INSTITUTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE CRAFT

There are two main institutions connected with the stoneware craft of Patharkatti. They influence almost all of the artisan families in the village. They are : (i) the Pashan Kalakar Co-operative Society, and (ii) the Patharkatti Stoneware Tuitional Class. Both the institutions are located in Patharkatti village itself and play significant role in the development of the craft. Their nature and functions are discussed below :

The Pashan Kalakar Co-operative Society

The Pashan Kalakar Co-operative Society, as the name implies, is a co-operative society established for the development of *Pashan Kala* (stoneware craft) and welfare of the craftsmen engaged in it. It is a credit co-operative society which advances loans to its members for productive purposes. It was firmly established in 1954 though it was registered earlier towards the end of 1952.

The society is meant only for the craftsmen of Patharkatti engaged in the stoneware craft. Membership is restricted to them only. For marketing purposes, however, the area of operation of the society extends throughout the country to places such as Gaya, Calcutta, Varanasi, Baidyanathdham, Allahabad, Aligarh, Bombay, Haridwar and Jaipur.

The co-operative society owes its origin to the initiative taken by Shri J. C. Mathur, I. C. S., the then Secretary to Government of Bihar, Education Department and Sri U. Maharathi, Director, Institute of Industrial Design, Government of Bihar. In the village itself, Sri Bhagwan Das Gaur made sincere efforts for its inception and development. It is mainly because of his untiring work that the society came into being in 1952 and started to function effectively from 1954. The society worked very successfully for the first eight years but subsequently some difficulties were experienced due to differences arising amongst its members.

The society has 39 members out of whom 20 are skilled artisans and the others, unskilled workers. A skilled artisan is one who can manufacture Mahadeo and other images (as also *kharal* and *kundi*), while an unskilled worker can manufacture only *kharal* and *kundi*.

Out of the 39 members of the society, 31 members have shares worth Rs. 70 each while 8 members have shares worth Rs. 30 each, as shown in the table given alongside.

Shares per member		Number of members	Total value of shares
Number	Value		
7	Rs. 70	31	Rs. 2,170
3	30	8	240
Total ..		39	2,410

The share value is realised from a member either in one lump sum or in instalments, or is set off against the value of manufactured articles sold to the society by the member. The admission fee is Re. 1 per member.

The society has received loans from the Department of Industries, Government of Bihar. The total amount received was Rs. 10,000 made available in two equal instalments paid in 1955 and 1957. The terms and conditions on which the loan was advanced to the society are very simple. The rate of interest payable is 3½ per cent per annum. The loan is required to be repaid within 10 years. The society had already repaid Rs. 8,000 against the loan advanced to it, and has also paid Rs. 2,544.20 by way of interest. The last instalment of repayment was paid on February 1, 1965.

In addition to the loan, the society has also received a subsidy of Rs. 5,500 from the Department of Industries. The first instalment of Rs. 3,500 was received on February 19, 1954, and the second instalment of Rs. 2,000 on April 24, 1957. The subsidy was paid to the society for exploitation of the *khadans*. The amount of subsidy is not required to be repaid.

The first instalment of subsidy was fully spent by 1960 over expenditure incurred in exploiting the stone quarries of Dhanmahua, Pirkasauti, Tamra and Jhceujh. Out of the second instalment of subsidy (amounting to Rs. 2,000), Rs. 193.33 had been spent and Rs. 1,806.67 remained unspent at the time of survey.

The society has also been given a non-refundable grant of Rs. 1,500 for the construction of building for its office and store.

According to the last audit report for the period ended June 30, 1960, the society had earned a profit of Rs. 2,441.78 though the members had not been paid any dividend.

INSTITUTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE CRAFT

The society had, however, given financial assistance by way of loan to 35 of its members. The maximum amount paid to a member was Rs. 200 and the minimum Rs. 40. The total amount thus advanced was Rs. 1,375. Financial assistance was given to the members for meeting their requirements during illness. The amount loaned to a member as advance adjusted from amounts payable to him for the supply of manufactured articles to the society.

The office bearers of the society are the President, the Secretary, and the Treasurer. It has an executive committee known as the *Karya Karini Samiti*. The President of the society is Bhagwan Das Gaur. Ram Prasad Gaur is the Secretary. There are eight members in the *Karya Karini Samiti*.

Sustained and detailed enquiries from the different members of the society revealed that the craftsmen in general and the members of the society in particular were very much benefited by the society. The craftsmen did not have to bother about marketing of the finished products which was done by the society. The prices paid by the society for various articles provided for adequate remuneration to the craftsmen for their labour. The position in regard to supply of raw materials had also improved as a result of the efforts made by the society.

Although the craftsmen derived great benefit from the society, it could not obviously meet the entire requirements of the artisans in respect of capital, raw materials and improved mechanical tools and implements. However, the subsequent failure of the society was caused by a sense of distrust that developed among the members rather than due to inadequacy in the proper fulfilment of its role. Some dissatisfied members of the co-operative society formed an association distinct and apart from the society. This association does not supply articles manufactured by its members to the society but arranges for their direct sale to traders in different cities. This has naturally caused unrest among the remaining members of the society, for whom the channel of sale continues to be through the society itself.

Even artisans who are not members of the society are fully aware of its existence and they also know who its office bearers are. According to such artisans, the main function of the society is to purchase the manufactured articles and dispose them of the traders, or through the retail shop run by the society in Gaya city. Some of the non-members reported that although they desired to become

members of the society, their applications for membership would not be entertained since they were less than 21 years of age. Others reported that they did not apply for membership. It appeared that some persons had not been approached for becoming members. Since all the non-members were aware of the advantages that membership of the society brings, it is possible that some direct motivation may induce them to become active members. It is noteworthy, however, that some non-members also sell their finished products to the co-operative society for further marketing.

In addition to the above co-operative society there is a body known as the *Hansraj Pashan Kalakar Sangh*, which is a private limited concern set up in 1950. Six closely related Gaur families have jointly set up this agency for the development of the craft and marketing of their products in places beyond Gaya. When the co-operative society was subsequently set up and it began to function well, there was some clash of interest between the two bodies. At present the *Hansraj Pashan Kalakar Sangh* and the co-operative society co-exist. While the members of the society want that the members of the Sangh should join them, the latter prefer to stay out of the society which, they believe, may not be able to be of as much use and help to them as their Sangh. The friction has resulted in the society not working well. Its members are facing much difficulty in getting the raw materials. The *khadans* are not exploited because it is feared that the members may not sell their products to the co-operative but sell them to the traders of Gaya and even export them outside. Thus, no exploitation of the *khadans* was undertaken after 1960.

Meetings of the artisans were convened several times to reconcile the differences but these were of no avail. In such meetings the difficulties in obtaining *Pirkasauti* stone were mentioned as also the non-exploitation of the *khadans*. Some suggested that a quota system should be introduced for each member. One group suggested that since *Dhanmahua* and *Pirkasauti* stones are important raw materials for image making, they should not be wasted in making *kharals*. But this was not agreed to by the artisans who own the *Pirkasauti khadan*, it being countered that the society could exploit other *khadans* over which the entire village had rights of exploitation. The general consensus was that the problem could only be solved by the Government which could easily make the large investment of capital that was necessary and utilize modern

machines such as cranes, pumps and drilling and lathe machines. The Government could then store adequate raw materials in the village for supply to the craftsmen. The stone could either be sold in cash or supplied to the craftsmen on the condition that they would supply the manufactured products to the Government store on being paid pre-determined manufacturing charges.

Although there is great demand for stoneware articles, the craftsmen are unable to meet the demand fully. If Government were to take up adequate supply of stones, even plates, cups, bowls and such other utilitarian utensils could also be manufactured. Other neighbouring hillocks could be prospected for their content of workable stone. Adequate supply of different kinds of stones would ensure the utilization of a particular kind of stone only for manufacturing the specific articles for which it was most suited. The present mis-utilization of good quality stones would thus be eradicated. These suggestions were made by the artisans as a whole and their implementation could well herald an era of prosperity in this village.

The Patharkatti Stoneware Tuitional Class

The Patharkatti Stoneware Tuitional Class has been referred to earlier. Its area of operation extends over Patharkatti, Katari, Khukhari, Sarvahda, and Neyamatpur villages which are all situated close to each other. It was established in 1955 to impart technical training to the practising artisans and fresh apprentices so that the traditional industry could not only be kept alive but also made to progress and prosper.

Its staff comprises two instructors (both non-matriculates) and one peon. The training imparted lasts for two years. A brief account of the kind of training given is furnished below :

The trainees are first taught how to make small size *kharal*, *khalbatti* and *kundi*. Later, they learn to make the *deepak* (lamp), ash-tray, paper-weight, flower vase and Mahadeo. This takes up the first year. In the second year they are trained to make images of Buddha, Shiva, Ganesh, etc. The sanctioned strength of trainees is only 12. Each trainee is given a stipend of Re. 1 per day. But at the time of the survey, there were 14 trainees in the institution, out of whom 2 did not get any stipend. The trainees are recruited with the approval of the Block Development Officer, Atri. The trainees are largely selected from the artisan families belonging to Sonar (goldsmith), Thathera (utensil-maker), Barhi (carpenter) castes, and also Chamars and other scheduled castes. Each trainee is required to complete the two-year course in default of which the stipend paid become refundable.

The castewise classification of the 14 trainees is given below :

Name of caste			Number of trainees
Thathera	..	..	2
Chamar	..	..	2
Pasi	..	..	5
Barhi	..	..	1
Bhuiya	..	..	1
Sonar	..	..	2
Bhumihar	..	..	1
Total	..	..	14

The tuitional class had imparted training to 50 persons till 1964.

The raw materials are supplied by the institution. The manufactured articles are treated as the output of the tuitional class, and sold.

There are many craftsmen in the village who have become skilled artisans proficient in the art of image-making. All of them have undergone a course of orientation in the tuitional class.

The general opinion of the craftsmen about the tuitional class was that it was a very useful institution. But it was contended that the institution should impart training only to the children of the traditional craftsmen (Gaur Brahmins) and not to others. Actually the Gold Control Act, which caused under-employment among goldsmiths, explains the joining of Sonars. That there are many members of scheduled castes among the trainees appeared to be a healthy sign. The instructors were of the opinion that even children of castes other than Gaur Brahmins pick up the craft quite easily and well. But the Gaur Brahmin craftsmen contended that persons of other castes who acquired proficiency in the craft usually sold articles made by them at cheaper rates by undercutting the prices fixed by the traditional craftsmen. This was, according to them, a ground against the imparting of training to other castes. At the time of survey there was not a single trainee from any Gaur Brahmin family. Among the reasons for this, the craftsmen averred that the trainees did not get their stipends in time, while the novices in their families could always earn something while learning with their parents. So the traditional craftsmen do not like to send their children to the tuitional class.

The Institute of Industrial Design, Bihar, plays an important role in the development of the craft. Various designs are supplied by it to the tuitional class for adoption. The institute also places orders for various articles which are not otherwise manufactured. A number of articles such as ash-trays of various designs, paper-weights, figurines of a lady with a bird in one hand, and replicas of old images are sent as samples along with orders to manufacture the same in the tuitional class.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The other important feature noticed in the village is that every artisan family has social and economic ties with the craftsmen of Jaipur.

It is believed by the craftsmen that they can earn a good living at Jaipur even without having independent workshops. There are a number of Gaur Brahmins in Jaipur who have large workshops. They employ workers in stoneware craft on daily and monthly wages. Thus most of the villagers are not averse to leaving Patharkatti and going to Jaipur. During the last three years, seven persons had left for Jaipur. The tendency to move from the village is strong among the traditional craftsmen, as they expect better prospects in Jaipur. Those who went to Jaipur earned a lot in a short time, and some of them also managed to get brides for themselves. (Marriage is usually a great problem for the Gaur Brahmins of Patharkatti as marital ties have necessarily to be made in Rajasthan and these prove rather costly.)

In the social structure of the region the Gaur Brahmins have high position in the Hindu caste hierarchy, and as such they do not suffer from any stigma because of their being an artisan class of stoneware manufacturers. The craftsmen supply the utilitarian goods like *kharal*, *kundi*, oil lamp, etc. They also supply the stone mortar used for dehusking grains with pestle, and the supporting pillars for *dhenki* (husking-lever). There is, thus, some dependence of the neighbouring peasant community on these craftsmen. In the neighbouring villages as well as in other villages of the district and the State, there is great demand for images of the *Pancha Devatas* which are established in temples or other suitable places. In this regard, the services made available by the craftsmen are indispensable as there is no substitute for the *Pancha Devatas*.

The images of Buddha, Shiva, Saraswati, Laxmi, Surya, Kali, Radha and Krishna are important for ritual as well as decorative purposes. The demand for images of Buddha is great and many Buddhist travellers who visit Bodh Gaya on pilgrimage like to purchase one for worship. Non-Buddhists purchase such images for decorative purposes.

There is great demand also for *kharal* and *Shivalinga*. The latter is in great demand at

The stoneware craft is an important craft in the region and plays a predominant role in the economic life of the traditional craftsmen of village Patharkatti. The Gaur Brahmin families of village Patharkatti are almost wholly dependent on this craft for their livelihood. Some members of other castes such as Sonar, Chamar, Bania, Pasi and Musahar have also taken to this craft.

In the city of Gaya, which is the district headquarters, there are a number of stoneware dealers who also belong to caste of the traditional craftsmen (Gaur Brahmin). They are largely dependent on the sale of stoneware articles produced in Patharkatti; they are also related to the craftsmen who manufacture these articles. Therefore, apart from having a patron-client and manufacturer relationship, they also have close social ties. As a result, the manufacturers whose economic status and other intimate details are usually known to the traders of Gaya, have to suffer a great deal. The traders of Gaya come to know when a particular manufacturer is in financial difficulties and takes advantage of his knowledge to strike hard bargains.

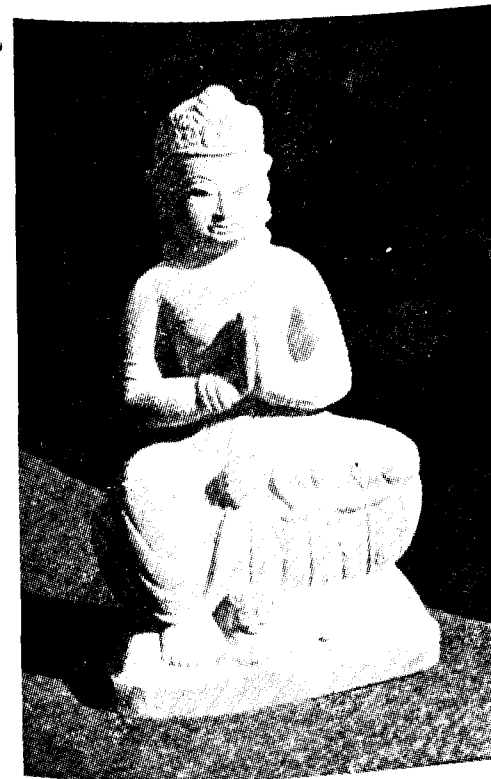
The craftsmen of Patharkatti earn only living wages. During the last ten years or so, the craftsmen have had decent earnings. There are at least three families in the village who have purchased a radio set each. Every family has kept its house in good repairs and brought about improvements also.

But for the last three years the co-operative society is not working well because of the rift among its members, and as such the economy of the craftsmen has been adversely affected. All of them feel that they have to go through very hard times because of low incomes. But this can be changed if the co-operative begins to function properly again. Every one complained that it was due to the traders of Gaya that differences had arisen among the members of the co-operative society and were even widening at their instance. The traders of Gaya do not want that the co-operative should function well, and they try to exploit individual members by giving them advances and loans which are recovered from articles purchased at low rates. The traders of Gaya feel that if they do not make advances, they may not get any supplies from the village.

Calcutta and Varanasi among the Bengali widows who throw it in the river Hooghly or Ganga after the deaths of their husbands.

The stoneware craft of Patharkatti got a fresh lease of life from the State assistance given to it in the fifties. The tuitional class has brought exquisitely produced objects of art within the range and competence of the artisans of the village. New craftsmen are also being trained for the job. But the industry appeared to be languishing for want of adequate facilities in the extraction of

suitable kinds of stones from the quarries in adequate quantities. The case of the artisans for a more benevolent approach by the State Government and the need for tangible assistance in the supply of raw materials appeared to deserve full consideration. The industry has potentialities. It needs to be developed. Its handiwork may well live a thousand years from now, and provide some indication of the artistic talents of a little known village in a corner of Bihar in the present times.



1. Lord Buddha with folded hands. The image is of the *Nirvanam* design (without background).



2. Lord Buddha in the *Bhramisparsa Mudra*. The image is of the *Badrakar* design (with background).



3. Lord Buddha in the *Abhaya Varada Mudra*, offering his blessings with his right hand.



4. Head of Lord Buddha.



5. Image of Lord Vishnu in the *Badradar* design.



6. Surya- The Sun God.



9. A street in Patharkatti hamlet of the Gaur Brahmin artisans.



Nagpheni Mahadeo of the *Bangbi* design. It is made from a single stone piece.



8. An ornamented stone plate. A sample from an old collection in the village.



10. An other aspect of the craftsmen's village.



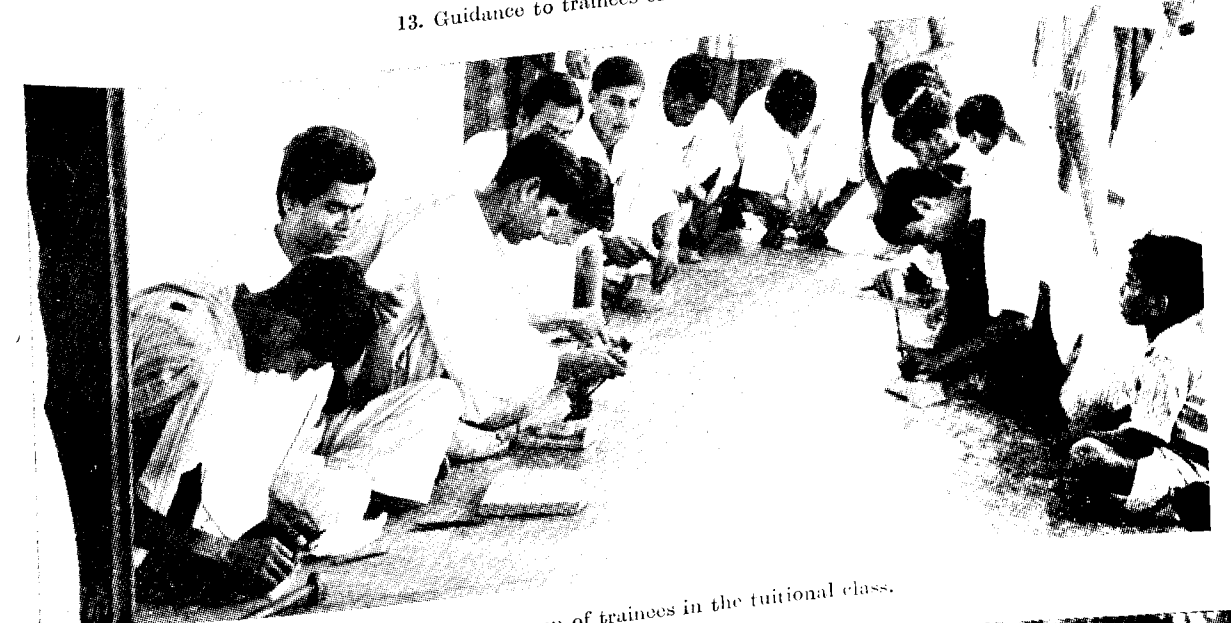
11. Artisans at work, manufacturing *Khural* and *Mahadeo*.



12. A collection of stoneware articles produced in the village.



13. Guidance to trainees of the tutorial class.



14. The group of trainees in the tutorial class.



15. The building housing the Patharkatti Stoneware Tutorial Class.



16. Drilling a quarry before blasting.



17. A *Khuban* yielding *Molia* stones chiefly used for manufacturing *Kharals*.



18. Various stages in the manufacture of *Mahadeo*.



19. Some stages in the manufacture of *Nandi*.



20. Polishing and colouring are usually attended to by women.



22. Finishing touches are better given by ladies.



21. Polishing and colouring are usually attended to by women.



23. Finishing touches are better given by ladies.



24. At work on a *Kharal*.



25. Making a *Nandi*.



26. Shaping a stone slab for image-making.



27. A flower vase being manufactured.

ANNEXURE

SL. no.....

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961 HANDICRAFT SURVEY SCHEME FAMILY SCHEDULE (For practising artisan families)

State....., Subdivision....., district.....

N. E. S. Block (if any).....P.S./Taluk/Tehsil.....

Village/Town, Locality.....

1. Name of the head of the family

2. (a) Postal address

(b) Since when living in this area

(c) If immigrant migrated from which area and when

3. Particulars about the members of the household including the head :

(Use separate sheet for each individual)

Serial no.

(a) Name

(b) Sex M/F

(c) Age in completed years

(d) Relation with head of family

(e) Place of birth—

(i) Name

(ii) Distance from here

(f) Religion

(g) Caste/Tribe

(h) Language

(i) Education

(j) (i) Training in craft or crafts as home apprentice.

(ii) Other Private sources

(k) Training in craft or crafts in institutions

(l) Father's occupation

(m) Occupation—(i) Main

(ii) Subsidiary

(n) Hours of work for each occupation --

(i) Main

(ii) Subsidiary

(o) Place of work for each occupation --

(i) Main

(ii) Subsidiary

(p) Remuneration for different occupations

(i) Main

(ii) Subsidiary

(q) If engaged in any craft, since when

(r) Physical conditions

(s) Marital status

(t) Age at marriage

(u) Marriage payments--

(i) Received by H. H.

(ii) Made by H. H.

(v) If occupation is not the traditional one, state:

(i) Whether ever engaged in the traditional occupation ? Yes/No

(ii) If yes, when given up

(iii) And why ?

(w) Hobbies and recreational activities

4. Additional questions to be asked for members of the family living away from it :

(a) Present postal address

(b) Since when living away from the family

(c) Why living away from family

(d) How many times did he visit home village in a year, and why ?

(e) Remittance--

(i) Sent by him

(ii) Received by him

(f) Remarks

5. Particulars about articles produced :

(a) Local names and English equivalents for the types of articles produced by the family; (put in serial order in terms of importance with reference to the value to produce).

(i) Before Second World War --

Local names	English names
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

(ii) Before 1947--

Local names	English names
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

(iii) At present--

Local names	English names
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
5.	5.
6.	6.

(b) Details of articles produced at present (use separate sheet for each article) :

(a) Name of article

(b) (i) Total number of articles produced during 1961.

(ii) Price of the same

(iii) Percentage of the value of all the produces during 1961.

(c) Describe the approximate size, height, form of each part of the article as well as the article as a whole

(d) Describe the functions (uses) of each part of the article as well as the article as a whole.

(e) Discuss how during use the different parts and/or the object as a whole is manipulated

(f) Whether there is preference for production of a particular variety of the article ? If so, why ?

(g) Whether there is a preference for any particular article or group of articles ? If so, why ?

(h) (i) Has there been any attempt to standardise any aspect of the craft ?

(ii) If yes, by whom and how ?

(iii) To what extent has it been successful ?

(iv) What has been its impact on the volume of production ?

- (v) What has been its impact on the economy of the craftsmen ?
- (vi) Has it involved any shift in the position of any particular craftsman or craftsmen family ?
- (i) (i) If there has been no attempt of standardisation, do you think that any aspect of the craft requires to be standardised ?
- (ii) If so, why ?
- (iii) How and by whom it should be standardised ?
- (j) (i) Do all the craftsmen families have necessary tools, equipments, skill and capital to fall in line in case of standardisation ?
- (ii) If not, what has been/should be done in case of such families.
- (k) Remarks

6. Particulars about materials (Use separate sheet for each article produced at present) :

(a) Name of the article with its parts (both local and English equivalents).

(b) Main raw materials :

Names	From where obtained	Form	Price

(c) Subsidiary raw materials :

Names	From where obtained	Form	Price

(d) Privileges enjoyed, if any, in obtaining raw materials

(e) Difficulties, if any, in obtaining raw materials

(f) Terms and conditions on which raw materials were obtained from different sources during 1961.

(g) Remarks

7. Particulars about designs and decorative motifs (Use separate sheet for each articles) :

- (a) Name of article
- (b) Date of manufacture
- (c) Base material
- (d) Name of design

(e) Decorative motif and other elements for the design and how they are combined in :

(i) the article under study

(ii) and according to the craftsman, whether there are or were other combinations.

(f) Brief description of design including colour schemes and aspects which are considered to be purely decorative and which are considered to be of ritual significance.

(g) Symbolic aspects associated with the design.

(h) Legends connected with the designs.

(i) Source of design.

(j) Whether according to the craftsman, the design is a traditional one/or whether it is a result of an innovation ?

(k) How frequently he makes use of the particular design ?

(l) Is there any section of the population among whom the design is more in demand ? If yes, give details.

(m) According to the craftsman, whether similar design are found in other types of crafts of the region.

(n) Is any design confined to certain families or certain recognised section of the population ? Is there any taboo against adoption of other designs ? Is there any sanction against copying of designs by others ? If so, what is the nature of sanction.

(o) Whether the craftsman is acquainted with other designs which he wants to adopt ?
If yes :

Yes/No

(i) Name of the designs

(ii) Brief descriptions of designs

(iii) Sources of designs

(iv) Why he wants to adopt ?

(v) Why he does not adopt ?

(p) Remarks

8. Particulars of Tools :

(a) Name of articles produced

(b) Base material

Name of the tool (Local and English equivalent)	Functions of the tool	Price	
		At the time it was obtained	Present market price

(c) Brief description of each tool (pencil sketches, photographs, etc., are to be supplemented)

(d) Who makes the tools, names, when and from where obtained ?

(e) (i) Whether the tools are used to the full capacity ?

(ii) If not, why not ?

(f) (i) Is the craftsman satisfied with the tools ?

(ii) If not, why not ?

(iii) (a) What other tools he desires ?

(b) Why is he not having those tools ?

(g) Remarks (including whether the tool is imported from outside India)

9. General description of workshop and organisation of work :

(a) Location

(b) Distance from household

(c) Physical structure (size and description)

(d) In addition to place of work, whether used for any other purpose ; if yes, state the purpose.

(e) Environment and hygienic condition

(f) Number of persons working in the workshop

(g) Hours of work

(h) Types of operations :

Type of operation	Name of tools used	Whether working individually	Whether working in groups

(i) (a) Number of persons engaged in each operation :

(i) (a) Number of persons engaged in each										Remarks including whether there is general division of labour
Type of operation	Members of family				Employed members					
	Skilled		Unskilled		Skilled		Unskilled			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		

(b) Wage rate for each type of operation and availability of labour :

(b) Wage rate for each type of operation						
Type of operation	WAGE RATE				Whether competent hands are available	Remarks
	Skilled		Unskilled			
	Males	Females	Males	Females		
	Adult	Minor	Adult	Minor		

(j) Nature of utilization of space in the workshop in respect of each operation and work group.

(k) Nature of supervision

(l) Formation of work groups—

(i) Operationwise :

Name of operation	No. of persons	Basis of grouping

ANNEXURE

(ii) Objectwise :

Name of object	No. of persons	Basis of grouping

(iii) Otherwise :

Name	No. of persons	Basis of grouping

(m) Observations of the investigator about the general atmosphere ; relation between individual workers, groups, supervisors and workers, etc.

(n) Remarks

10. Distribution of work in different stages (outside the household or the workshop of the establishment under survey) :

Name of article	Stage of work	If not done in the household or workshop				Remarks
		Particulars of persons by whom done		Where done	Reason for the particular type of distribution	
		Category Number			Agency through which distribution and supervision is effective	

FAMILY SCHEDULE

11. Particulars about production (use separate sheet for each article) :

- Name of article
- Seasons of production and approximate percentage of produce during each season
- If more than one technique of production prevails to produce the same article :
 - How and when different techniques have been introduced ?
 - Whether the different members of family follow the same technique or different techniques ?
 - Whether there is preference for a particular technique ? If so, why ?
- Stages of production beginning from preparation of raw materials to the finished product.
- Describe operations involving manipulation of tools and processing of raw materials stage by stage.
- Describe magic-religious performances and taboo associated with different techniques, tools and different stages of production or different aspects of the craft.
- If particular tool, techniques, type of production or any aspect of the craft is considered to be distinctive of the community or group or to have symbolic significance in any manner, give particulars of the same.

12. Particulars about storage, marketing and transport (Use separate sheet for each article) :

- Name of article
- Time gap between production and disposal
- In case of long duration, measures, if any, taken for preservation
- Storage :
 - Place
 - Distance from workshop
 - Container

(e) Percentage of total sale and disposal during 1961 :

Retails			Wholesale			On terms of processing raw materials supplied by		
Outside			Outside			Co-opera- rative	Emporium	Business- man
From workshop	To co-ope- ratives	Others	From workshop	To co-ope- ratives	Others			

(f) Sale price as on.....

Retail			Wholesale		
From workshop	Outside		From workshop	Outside	
	Co-operatives	Others		Co-operatives	Others

(g) Terms and conditions of work in processing of raw materials (operationwise) :

Name of operation	Co-operative	Emporium	Others
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(h) Transport :

Purpose	Place	Distance from workshop	Means	Cost
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13. How disposed (as per statement of the craftsman) (use separate sheet for each article) :

(a) Name of article

(b) Percentage of the total used produce in the family during 1961 :

(i) Ceremonial

(ii) Domestic

(c) Percentage used in the community during 1961 :

(i) Percentage of the total produce

(ii) On what terms

(d) Percentage used by patron clients during 1961 :

(i) Percentage of the total produce

(ii) On what terms

(e) Sold in local market :

(i) Percentage of the total produce

(ii) Name of market

(f) Sold in fairs and festivals :

Name of fair/festival	Time or occasion	Percentage of the total produce
-----------------------	------------------	------------------------------------

(g) Exported :

Place of export	Percentage of the total produce
-----------------	---------------------------------

- (h) Statement of the craftsman about -
- (i) Who are main clients ?
 - (ii) What is the main use (commercial, domestic, etc) ?
 - (iii) Whether any change is taking place in the relative importance of different means of disposal and the nature of use ?
- (i) (i) If the craft is a new one in the family, why they have adopted it ?
- (ii) Is the craftsman satisfied with his/her job ?
 - (iii) What are his/her main problem ?
 - (iv) What he wants his/her son/daughter to be ?
- (j) (i) If the craft is a traditional one in the family, has any member of the family taken to any other occupation ?
- (ii) If yes, why ?
 - (iii) Is the craftsman satisfied with his job ?
 - (iv) If not, why not?
 - (v) If yes, what is the specific nature of the satisfaction ?
 - (vi) Does he think that he is rendering a useful service to the society ?
 - (vii) If yes, in what manner ?
 - (viii) Do the neighbours think that he is rendering a useful service to the society ?
 - (ix) If not, why not ?
 - (x) Does he think that the society is doing all that should be done for him ?
 - (xi) If not, why not ?
 - (xii) Does he want his son/ daughter to be in the same occupation ?
 - (xiii) If not, why not ?
 - (xiv) If he does not want his son/daughter to be in the same occupation what he wants his son/daughter to be ?
 - (xv) (i) If he wants his son/daughter in the same occupation does the son/daughter reciprocate his feeling ?
 - (ii) How is he training up his son/daughter for the purpose ?
 - (xvi) According to him, in addition to specific skill for the craft, what are the—
 - (i) mental qualities required for successful pursuit of the craft
 - (ii) physical qualities required for successful pursuit of the craft

FAMILY SCHEDULE

14. Estimated cost of production per unit :

Name of article	Description	Quantity of raw material	Price of raw material	Cost of transport	Rent of workshop	Wages paid	Other payment for pro-cessing	Interest on loan	Unpaid wages for the family members at market rates
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

15. Who does the co-ordination of work in case of division of labour and work done on labour rate basis at different places ?

16. Particulars of the various sources from where the craftsmen of the village have received funds:

Source	When received	Approximate amount	Terms and conditions (including rate of interest, security, mortgage, etc., manner of realisation, etc.)	Form (Cash/ kind)	Purpose	Remarks	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(a) Grant-in-aid	..	..					
(b) Loan	..	..					
(c) Advance	..	..					
(d) Sale of assets (including land, jewel, livestock, etc.).							
(e) Diversion of funds from other pro-ductive activities.							
(f) Family savings	..	..					
(g) Other (specify)	..	..					

ANNEXURE

17. Family budget particulars (income and expenditure):

Income			Expenditure		
Major Head	Amount	Source in or outside village	Major Head	Amount	Source in or outside village
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) Cultivation	..		(a) Food ..	..	
(b) Livestock and products ..	..		(i) Cereal	..	
(c) Wages	..		(ii) Non-cereal	..	
(d) Arts and Crafts ..	..		(b) Drinks	..	
(i) Craft under study ..	..		(c) Fuel and lighting ..	..	
(ii) Other crafts ..	..		(d) House rent and repairs ..	..	
(e) Fishery	..		(e) Clothing	..	
(f) Forestry	..		(f) Travelling	..	
(g) Trade	..		(g) Recreation	..	
(h) Transport	..		(h) Education	..	
(i) Profession	..		(i) Other services (Miscellaneous) ..	..	
(j) Service	..		(j) Interest	..	
(k) Rent	..		(k) Remittances	..	
(l) Investments	..		(l) Hired labour	..	
(m) Remittances	..		(m) Purchases for production ..	..	
(n) Others	..		(n) Others	..	
Total	..		Total	..	
(o) Borrowing	..		(o) Purchase of assets	..	
(p) Principal received back ..	..		(p) Construction and improvement of building and other structure.	..	
(q) Sale of assets	..		(q) Land development	..	
Grand Total	..		Grand Total	..	

18. Unemployment (use separate sheet for each unemployed member):

Is there any member of household searching for a job?

Yes/No

If yes, give following details:

(a) Name

(b) Age

(c) Other proficiency

(d) Nature of previous employment, if any

(e) Academic qualifications

(f) Date of cessation of previous employment

(g) Reasons for cessation

(h) Any subsidiary work at present

(i) Whether registered with any employment exchange?

Yes/No

(j) Nature of job sought

(k) Remarks

FAMILY SCHEDULE

19. Sale and purchase of valuable assets during last three years:

(a) Sale—

Type of assets	Time of sale	Buyer's address	Occupation of buyer	Area/No.	Sale price
1	2	3	4	5	6
(i) Land	..	..	..	..	..
(ii) Livestock	..	..	..	..	..
(iii) Machinery, tools, equipment ..	..	..	..	..	..
(iv) Building, etc.	..	..	..	..	..
(v) Jewellery and valuables	..	..	..	..	..
(vi) Investments	..	..	..	..	..
(vii) Other assets	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..				..	..

(b) Purchase—

Type of assets	Date of purchase	Seller's address	Seller's occupation	Area/No.	Sale price
1	2	3	4	5	6
(i) Land	..	..	..	..	..
(ii) Livestock	..	..	..	..	..
(iii) Machinery, tools, equipment ..	..	..	..	..	..
(iv) Building, etc.	..	..	..	..	..
(v) Jewellery and valuables	..	..	..	..	..
(vi) Investments	..	..	..	..	..
(vii) Other assets	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..				..	..

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

(As on February 17, 1964)

AGARTALA -Luxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales	(Rest.)	7 Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road	(Reg.)
		8 International Book House P. Ltd., 4F, Mahatma Gandhi Road.	(Reg.)
AGRA -		9 Navakarnataka Publications Private Ltd., Majestic Circle.	(Rest.)
1 National Book House, Jeoni Mandi	(Reg.)	BAREILY -Agrawal Brothers, Bara Bazar	(Reg.)
2 Wadhawa & Co., 45, Civil Lines	(Reg.)		
3 Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra	(Rest.)	BARODA-	
4 English Book Depot, Sadar Bazar, Agra Cantt.	(Rest.)	1 Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura	(Rest.)
		2 Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent.	(Rest.)
AHMADNAGAR -V. T. Jorakar, Prop., Rama General Stores, Navi Path.	(Rest.)	3 New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road.	(Rest.)
AHMEDABAD -		BEAWAR -The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores, Ltd.	(Rest.)
1 Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road	(Reg.)	BELGHARLA -Granthlok Antiquarian Book-sellers & Publishers (24-Parganas), 5/1, Amlica Mukherjee Road.	(Reg.)
2 Chandra Kant Chiman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road	(Reg.)		
3 New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge	(Reg.)	BHAGALPUR--Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road.	(Reg.)
4 Mahajan Bros., Opp. Khadia Police Gate	(Rest.)	BHOPAL--	
5 Sastri Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Pathar Kuva, Relief Road.	(Reg.)	1 Superintendent, State Government Press	
		2 Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Station Road.	(Reg.)
AJMER--		3 Dolite Books, Opp. Bhopal Talkies	(Rest.)
1 Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate	(Reg.)	BHUBANESHWAR--Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room no. 3.	(Rest.)
2 Rajputana Book House, Station Road	(Reg.)	BIJAPUR--Shri D. V. Doshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk.	(Rest.)
3 Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata	(Reg.)	BIKANER -Bhandani Bros.	(Rest.)
4 Vijay Bros., Kutchery Road	(Rest.)	BILASPUR -Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar	(Rest.)
5 Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road	(Reg.)	BOMBAY--	
ALIGARH--Friends Book House, Muslim University Market.	(Reg.)	1 Suplt., Printing and Stationery, Queens Road.	
ALLAHABAD -		2 Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road.	(Reg.)
1 Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U.P.	(Reg.)	3 Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar.	(Reg.)
2 Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road	(Reg.)	4 Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghu-nath Dadaji St.	(Reg.)
3 Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4	(Reg.)	5 Current Technical Literature Co., P. Ltd., India House, 1st Floor.	(Reg.)
4 Ram Narain Lal Beni Madho, 2-A, Katra Road.	(Reg.)	6 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road.	(Reg.)
5 Universal Book Co., 20, M.G. Road	(Reg.)	7 Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum	(Reg.)
6 The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road.	(Rest.)	8 Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi	(Reg.)
7 Wadhwa & Co., 23, M.G. Marg	(Rest.)	9 P.P.H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road.	(Reg.)
8 Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg.	(Rest.)	10 New Book Co., 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road.	(Reg.)
9 Ram Narain Lal Beni Prasad, 2-A, Katra Road.	(Rest.)	11 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road	(Reg.)
AMBALA--		12 Sunder Das Gian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street.	(Reg.)
1 English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt.	(Reg.)	13 D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. (P), Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road.	(Reg.)
2 Soth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt.	(Rest.)	14 Thacker & Co., Rampart Row	(Reg.)
ARITSAR--		15 N.M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street	(Reg.)
1 The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh	(Reg.)	16 The Kothari Depot, King Edward Road	(Reg.)
2 S. Gupta, Agent, Government Publications, Near P.O. Majith Mandi.	(Reg.)	17 P.H. Rama Krishna & Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road No. 5.	(Rest.)
3 Amar Nath & Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi	(Reg.)	18 C. Jannadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princes St.	(Reg.)
AND--		19 Indo Nath & Co., A-6, Daulat Nagar Borivli, Mahatma Gandhi Road.	(Reg.)
1 Vijaya Stores, Station Road	(Rest.)		
2 Charto Book Stall, Tulsi Sadan, Stn. Road	(Rest.)		
NSOL--D.N. Roy & R. K. Roy, Booksellers. Atwal Building.	(Rest.)		
GALORE--			
1 The Bangalore Legal Practitioner Co-op. Society, Ltd., Bar Association Building.	(Reg.)		
2 S.S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road	(Reg.)		
3 The Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P. O. Box 507.	(Reg.)		
4 The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road	(Reg.)		
5 Vishara Sahitya Private Ltd., Balepet	(Reg.)		
6 Makkala Postaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar.	(Reg.)		

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—contd.

BOMBAY—concl'd.		DEHRA DUN	
20 Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road.	(Reg.)	1 Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road	(Reg.)
21 Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road.	(Rest.)	2 National News Agency, Paltan Bazar	(Reg.)
22 Dominion Publishers, 23, Bell Building, Sir P.M. Road.	(Rest.)	3 Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala.	(Reg.)
23 Bombay National History Society, 91, Walkeshwar Road.	(Rest.)	4 Utam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar	(Rest.)
24 Downadeo & Co., 16, Naziria Building, Ballard Estate.	(Rest.)		
25 Asian Trading Co., 310, the Miraball, P. B. 1505.	(Rest.)	DELHI	
CALCUTTA		1 J. M. Jaina & Brother, Mori Gate	(Reg.)
1 Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane.	(Reg.)	2 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmiri Gate	(Reg.)
2 Dass Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3, College Street	(Reg.)	3 Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmiri Gate	(Reg.)
3 Hindu Library, 69-A, Bolaram De Street	(Reg.)	4 Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market	(Reg.)
4 S.K. Lahiri & Co., Private Ltd., College Street.	(Reg.)	5 Bawa Harkishan Dass Bodi (Vijaya General Agencies), P.B. 2027, Ahata Kedara, Chamadian Road.	(Reg.)
5 M.C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., 14 Bankim Chatterjee Street.	(Reg.)	6 Book Well, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P.B. 1565.	(Reg.)
6 W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street.	(Reg.)	7 Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj.	(Reg.)
7 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., 17, Park Street.	(Reg.)	8 Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar	(Reg.)
8 R. Chambrary & Co., Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Row Extension.	(Reg.)	9 Publication Centre, Subzimidandi	(Reg.)
9 S. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., I.C. College Square.	(Reg.)	10 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak	(Reg.)
10 Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) Private Ltd., 3, Esplanade East.	(Reg.)	11 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj	(Rest.)
11 Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane.	(Rest.)	12 All-India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar.	(Rest.)
12 K.K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19	(Rest.)	13 Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market.	(Rest.)
13 Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 77, Mukhtaram Baby Street.	(Rest.)	14 University Book House, 15, U.B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar.	(Rest.)
14 Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street	(Rest.)	15 Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran	(Rest.)
15 Modern Book Depot, 9, Chowringhee Centre	(Rest.)	16 Summer Brothers, P.O. Birla Lines	(Reg.)
16 Soor & Co., 125, Canning Street	(Rest.)	17 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhas Marg.	(Rest.)
17 S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street	(Rest.)	18 B. Nath & Bros., 3808, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar).	(Reg.)
18 Mukherjee Library, 10, Sarba Khan Road	(Reg.)	19 Rajkamal Prakashan P. Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar	(Reg.)
19 Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road.	(Reg.)	20 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak.	(Reg.)
20 The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st Floor).	(Rest.)	21 Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhale Market	(Rest.)
21 Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhas Road.	(Rest.)	22 Tech. & Commercial Book Co., 75, Gokhale Market.	(Rest.)
22 Reliance Trading Co., 17/1, Banku Bihari Ghose Lane, District Howrah.	(Rest.)	23 Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chahiganj, Kashmiri Gate.	(Rest.)
23 Indian Book Dist. Co., 6512, Mahatma Gandhi Road.	(Rest.)	24 G.M. Ahuja, Booksellers and Stationers, 309, Nehru Bazar.	(Rest.)
CALICUT—Touring Book Stall	(Rest.)	25 Sat Narain & Sons, 3141, Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate.	(Reg.)
CHANDIGARH		26 Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) P. Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar.	(Rest.)
1 Supdt., Govt. Printing & Stationery, Punjab.	(Reg.)	27 Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak	(Rest.)
2 Jain Law Agency, Flat no. 8, Sector no. 22	(Reg.)	28 Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P.B. 1165, Nai Sarak.	(Rest.)
3 Rama News Agency, Bookseller, Sector no. 22.	(Reg.)	29 K.L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura.	(Rest.)
4 Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D.	(Reg.)	30 Adarsh Publishing Service, 5A/10, Ansari Road.	(Rest.)
5 English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D	(Rest.)	DHANBAD	
6 Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B	(Rest.)	1 Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P.O. Indian School of Mines.	(Rest.)
7 Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16.	(Rest.)	2 New Sketch Press, Post Box 26	(Rest.)
8 Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B	(Rest.)	DHARWAR	
CHHINDWARA—The Verma Book Depot	(Rest.)	1 The Agricultural College Consumers' Co-op. Society.	(Rest.)
COCHIN—Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road.	(Reg.)	2 Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road	(Rest.)
CUTTACK		3 Karnatakaya Sahitya Mandira of Publishers and Booksellers.	(Rest.)
1 Press Office, Orissa Seott.	(Reg.)	ERNAKULAM	
2 Cuttack Law Times	(Reg.)	1 Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road	(Rest.)
3 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabagh P.B. 35	(Reg.)	2 South India Traders, c/o Constitutional Journal.	(Reg.)
4 D.P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabagh	(Rest.)	FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road.	(Reg.)
5 Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar	(Rest.)		

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—contd.

GAUHATI—Mokshada Pustakalaya	(Reg.)	JULLUNDUR CITY—	
GAYA—Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg	(Reg.)	1 Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate	(Rest.)
GHAZIABAD—Jayana Book Agency	(Rest.)	2 Jain General House, Bazar Basan wala	(Reg.)
GORAKHPUR—Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road.	(Reg.)	3 University Publishers, Railway Road	(Rest.)
GUDUR—The General Manager, The N. D. C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd.	(Rest.)	KANPUR—	
GUNTUR—Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadriguda Chowrasta.	(Reg.)	1 Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall	(Reg.)
GWALIOR—		2 Sahitya Niketan, Shradhanand Park	(Reg.)
1 Supdt., Printing and Stationery, M.B.	(Reg.)	3 The Universal Book Stall, The Mall	(Reg.)
2 Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar	(Rest.)	4 Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk.	(Rest.)
3 M. C. Daftari, Prop. M.B. Jain & Bros. Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar.	(Reg.)	KARUR—Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srivivasapuram.	(Rest.)
HUBLI—Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road	(Reg.)	KODARMA—The Bhagwati Press, P. O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dist. Hazaribagh.	(Reg.)
HYDERABAD—		KOLHAPUR—Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road.	(Rest.)
1 Director, Government Press	(Reg.)	KOTA—Kota Book Depot	(Rest.)
2 The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul	(Rest.)	KUMTA—S.V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara).	(Reg.)
3 Book Lovers Private Ltd.	(Rest.)	LUCKNOW—	
4 Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar	(Rest.)	1 Sochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot).	(Reg.)
IMPHAL—Tikendra & Sons, Bookseller	(Reg.)	2 Balkrishna Book Co., Ltd., Hazratganj	(Reg.)
INDORE—		3 British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj	(Reg.)
1 Wadhwa & Co., 56, M.G. Road	(Reg.)	4 Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P.B. 154	(Reg.)
2 Swarup Brothers, Khajuri Bazar	(Rest.)	5 Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj	(Reg.)
3 Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura.	(Rest.)	6 Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road	(Rest.)
4 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace	(Rest.)	7 Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar.	(Rest.)
5 Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers and Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar.	(Rest.)	8 Aquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road	(Rest.)
JABALPUR—		9 Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park	(Rest.)
1 Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj	(Reg.)	LUDHIANA—	
2 National Book House, 135, Jai Prakash Narain Marg.	(Rest.)	1 Lyall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar	(Reg.)
JAIPUR CITY—		2 Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road	(Rest.)
1 Government Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan.	(Reg.)	3 Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar	(Rest.)
2 Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema.	(Reg.)	4 The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street	(Rest.)
3 Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar	(Reg.)	MADRAS—	
4 Vani Mandir, Swami Manashingh Highway	(Rest.)	1 Supdt., Government Press, Mount Road.	(Reg.)
5 Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar	(Reg.)	2 Account Test Institute, P.O. 760, Emgore	(Reg.)
6 Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta	(Rest.)	3 C. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane	(Reg.)
7 Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta	(Rest.)	4 K. Krishnamurthy, Post Box 384	(Reg.)
8 Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P.B. No. 23.	(Reg.)	5 Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pyeruffs Road, Triplicane.	(Reg.)
JAMNAGAR—Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar	(Reg.)	6 P. Vardachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street.	(Reg.)
JAMSHEDPUR—		7 Palani Parchuram, 3, Pyeruffs Road, Triplicane.	(Reg.)
1 Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P.B. 78	(Reg.)	8 NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road	(Rest.)
2 Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih	(Rest.)	9 V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Building, 111, Mount Road.	(Rest.)
3 Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistupur Market.	(Rest.)	MADURAI—	
JAWALAPUR—Sahyog Book Depot	(Rest.)	1 Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street.	(Reg.)
JHUNJHUNU—		2 Vivekanand Press, 48, West Masi Street	(Reg.)
1 Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand	(Reg.)	MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—K. N. Narimho Gowda & Sons.	(Rest.)
2 Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90, Namdha Niwas Azad Marg.	(Reg.)	MANGALORE—U.R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128.	(Rest.)
JODHPUR—		MANJESHWAR—Mukenda Krishna Nayak	(Rest.)
1 Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents.	(Reg.)	MATHURA—Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat.	(Rest.)
2 Kitab-Ghar, Sojati Gate	(Reg.)		
3 Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar	(Reg.)		

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—*concl.*

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|---|---|
| 27 The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat State, Gujarat Samachar Building, Ahmedabad. | 35 O. I/C S.I.S.I. Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta. |
| 28 Publication Division, Sale Depot, North Block, New Delhi. | 36 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad. |
| 29 The Development Commissioner, Small-Scale Industries, New Delhi. | 37 Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.P.). |
| 30 The O. I/C University Employment Bureau, Lucknow. | 38 Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhahua. |
| 31 O. I/C S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Malda. | 39 Dy. Director Incharge S.I.S.I., c/o. Chief Civil Admn., Goa, Panjim. |
| 32 O. I/C S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24-Parganas. | 40 The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur. |
| 33 O. I/C S.I.S.I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P.O. Burnipur. | 41 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Moria. |
| 34 O. I/C S.I.S.I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra, 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46. | 42 The O. I/C State Information Centre, Hyderabad. |
| | 43 The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry. |
| | 44 The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Sabha (P.B. 271), Bangalore. |

